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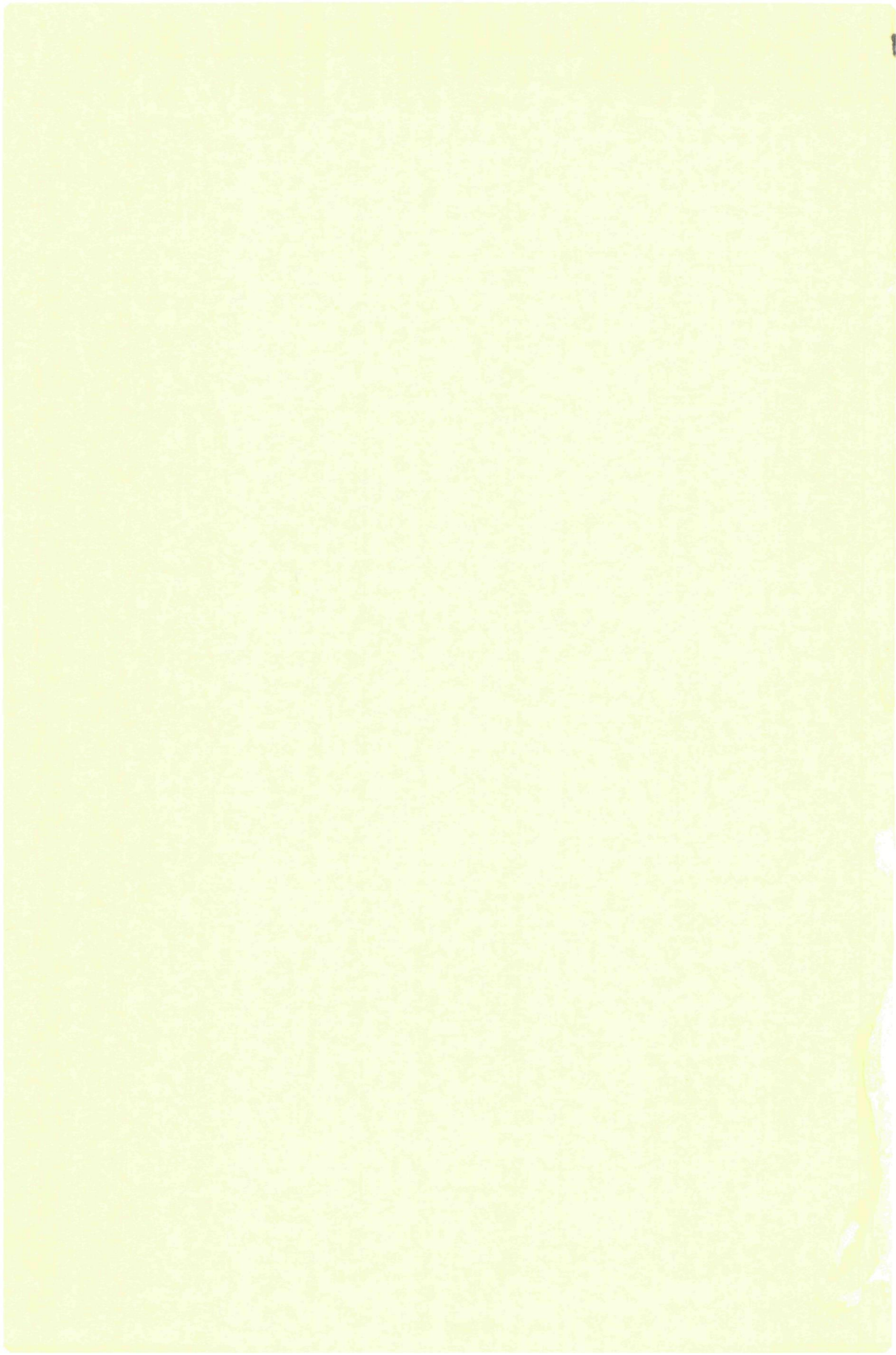
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THE JEWISH LEADERS
IN MATTHEW

SJEF VAN TILBORG



THE JEWISH LEADERS
IN MATTHEW

THE JEWISH LEADERS IN MATTHEW

PROEFSCHRIFT

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CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations	VII
Introduction	I
I. ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΑΙ	8
II. ΠΟΝΗΡΟΙ	27
A. πονηροί as a Qualification of the Jewish Leaders. . .	28
B. πονηροί as a Collective Noun	38
C. πονηρός as a Generic Concept.	42
III. ΦΟΝΕΙΣ	46
A. Mt 21, 28-22, 14	47
B. Mt 23, 29-39	63
IV. The Passion Narrative.	73
V. ΟΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΙΗΣΟΥ	99
A. The Jewish Leaders	99
B. The Disciples of Jesus	108
C. The Christian Community	113
D. The Existence of Christian Scribes	128
VI. ΟΙ ΟΧΛΟΙ	142
A. οἱ ὄχλοι and the Jewish Leaders.	142
B. οἱ ὄχλοι and the Disciples.	160
C. οἱ ὄχλοι and Jesus	163
Conclusion	166
Bibliography	173
Index of Passages	196
Index of Authors	197

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ang	Angelicum
BeihZThK	Beiheft Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
Bibl	Biblica
Bijdr	Bijdragen. Tijdschrift voor Filosofie en Theologie
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
CahSioniens	Cahiers Sioniens
Cath	Catholica
CBQ	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly
ColBG	Collationes Brugenses et Gandavenses
Conc	Concilium
ConNT	Coniectanea Neotestamentica
DBS	Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément
EstBibl	Estudios Bíblicos
EstEcles	Estudios Eclesiásticos
ET	The Expository Times
EThRel	Études Théologiques et Religieuses
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EvTh	Evangelische Theologie
Greg	Gregorianum
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	The Hebrew Union College Annual
IsraelExplJourn	Israel Exploration Journal
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
Journ of Rel	The Journal of Religion
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
Jud	Judaica
LitJahrbuch	Liturgisches Jahrbuch
NedTT	Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift
NRT	Nouvelle Revue Théologique
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
Or	Orientalia
RB	Revue Biblique
Rech Bibl	Recherches Bibliques
REJ	Revue des Études Juives
RevEtudesAnciennes	Revue des Études Anciennes
RHPRel	Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse
RTPh	Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie
ScEccl	Sciences Ecclésiastiques
ScotJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
Sef	Sefarad
StCath	Studia Catholica
St. Evang.	Studia Evangelica

StTh	Studia Theologica
Theol	Theology
ThLZ	Theologische LiteraturZeitung
ThR	Theologische Rundschau
ThSt	Theological Studies
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
TLit	Tijdschrift voor Liturgie
TT	Tijdschrift voor Theologie
TWNT	Theologisches Worterbuch zum Neuen Testament
VD	Verbum Domini
VigChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VoxTheol	Vox Theologica
VT(S)	Vetus Testamentum (Supplements).
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZEveEthik	Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik
ZkathTh	Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

INTRODUCTION

The study that follows is intended as a contribution to the situating of the Mt gospel by a study of those texts dealing with the Jewish leaders. The relation of Mt to Judaism, which is revealed most of all in the stand he takes against the leaders of the Jewish people, is a central theme of his gospel. A critical analysis of these texts and an eventual synthesis of the results should provide a justifiable description of the milieu in which the Mt gospel originated.

First of all, however, it should be made clear that Mt looks upon the representatives of Israel as a homogeneous group. The many names he eventually gives the Jewish leaders are not meant as further historical information. He does not want to introduce a distinction between Pharisees, Sadducees, scribes, high priests and elders. In his eyes they are all equally representatives of the one Israel. This is especially evident in those cases where he does not directly agree with the traditions which have come down to him.¹

οἱ φαρισαῖοι

They are mentioned in Mt 9, 11.14.34; 12, 2.14.24; 15, 12; 19, 3; 22, 15.34.41. The literary character of this name is apparent in (nearly) all the texts. In Mt 9, 14; 12, 2.14; 19, 3 its use is derived from the tradition, as may be gathered from Mk 2, 18.24; 3, 6; 10, 2; Lk 5, 33; 6, 2, but the remaining texts also put it quite plainly. Whereas in Mt 9, 34 and 12, 24 οἱ φαρισαῖοι unlike οἱ ὄχλοι reject Jesus as the son of David, we see that in Mt 21, 9.11.15 οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς rank as the adversaries of Jesus and

¹ Since the argumentation of these data was mainly statistical, there is little sense in engaging in debate with other authors Cf especially G Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel according to St Matthew*, Oxford, 1966/3, 101-123; R Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kirche und Judentum im Matthäusevangelium*, Munchen, 1963, 11-33, G Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, Gottingen, 1966/2, 137-143, R Walker, *Die Heilsgeschichte im ersten Evangelium*, Gottingen, 1967, 11-38, P Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus*, Berlin, 1961, 111-113; A. F. J. Klijn, *Scribes, Pharisees, Highpriests and Elders in the New Testament*, NT 3 (1959) 259-267, R Meyer, *TWNT*, VII, 35-54, s.v. *σαδδουκαῖος*, R Meyer/K Weiss, *TWNT*, IX, 11-51, s.v. *φαρισαῖος*.

the acknowledgment by the crowds. In spite of the fact that in Mt 15, 1 *ἡ φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς* approach Jesus in order to question him about the transgression of human tradition, the disciples say in 15, 12, that only *οἱ φαρισαῖοι* were shocked by the answer of Jesus. Finally, the appearance of *οἱ φαρισαῖοι* in Mt 22, 15.34 41 is immediately connected with Mt 21, 23, which speaks of the 'teaching' Jesus and with Mt 26, 1 where the great discourse of Jesus comes to an end. The pericope Mt 22, 15-46 has been transformed by Mt into a greater doctrinal unit. The Pharisees who are the subject of the sentence in Mt 22, 15, remain so until Mt 22, 46 where Jesus enjoins silence on them. From 21, 33 onwards until 24, 1 Jesus is found in the temple and he speaks to, or is spoken to by *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ* (21, 23), *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι* (21, 45), *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτῶν* (*τῶν φαρισαίων*) *μετὰ τῶν Ἡρωδιανῶν* (22, 16), *σαδδουκαῖοι* (22, 23), *οἱ φαρισαῖοι* (22, 34) and *οἱ φαρισαῖοι* (22, 41), without becoming clear why at one point one group is necessary and at another point a different group.

οἱ σαδδουκαῖοι

With the latter we see a connection with the use of the grouping of the Sadducees. They are mentioned as a separate group only in Mt 22, 23 and 22, 34. Of these texts Mt 22, 23 is immediately dependent on Mk 12, 18, thus showing that Mt was not interested in the Sadducees as such. However, this lack of interest may also be gathered from Mt 22, 34, which is the editorial linking sentence that makes the pericope into a greater unit. Pharisees and Sadducees serve this purpose only that Jesus might speak.

οἱ φαρισαῖοι καὶ σαδδουκαῖοι

The little interest Mt has in the existence and activities of the Pharisees and Sadducees as distinct groups and his lack of historical information are revealed especially in the use of *οἱ φαρισαῖοι καὶ σαδδουκαῖοι* a formulation proper to him that gathers under one definite article two widely divergent groups. The expression is peculiar to Mt (3, 7, 16, 16.11.12.12) and therefore it does not seem at all impossible that we are dealing with an editorial formulation. Here, too, parallel-texts can be pointed out which ascribe identical things to other groups just as in the texts where the Pharisees are mentioned. In Mt 3, 7 the Pharisees and Sadducees are called *γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν*, whereas in Mt 23, 33 it says of the scribes

and Pharisees: ὄφεις γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, πῶς φύγητε ἀπὸ τῆς κρίσεως τῆς γεέννης;. While in Mt 16, 1 the Pharisees and Sadducees come to Jesus and put him to the test by asking for a sign, the same tradition is related in Mt 12, 38 about τινές τῶν γραμματέων καὶ φαρισαίων. In Mt 16, 5-12 the combination of the Pharisees and Sadducees is probably closely related to Mt 16, 1, which necessitated the addition of a secondary editorial unit. From all these data it may be gathered that Mt was not interested in the various names as such, but only in the totality. Since the historical differences between the various groups could not be understood any longer, the groups themselves could be combined.

οἱ γραμματεῖς

Mt very seldom mentions the scribes as a separate group: Mt 7, 29; 9, 3 and 17, 10; when he does so it is only in texts which immediately link up with the tradition: see Mk 1, 22; 2, 6 and 9, 11. This shows that Mt does not deal with the scribes as such and that they had already lost something of historical importance in his eyes.

οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι

A certain tendency toward simplification is also found in the combination of the scribes and the Pharisees. This concerns Mt 5, 20; 12, 38; 15, 1; 23, 2.13.15.23.25.27.29. Except in Mt 15, 1, which links up with Mk 7, 1, Mt only speaks of 'scribes and Pharisees' and not vice versa. In Lk this order is much less fixed: see Lk 5, 21.30; 6, 7; 11, 53; 15, 2. Moreover Mt is the only evangelist who mentions the two groups with a single definite article: Mt 5, 20 and 12, 38. This means that in Mt the formulation has become more standardized and therefore much less significant as far as the content is concerned. It does not even seem to be out of the question that the expressions οἱ φαρισαῖοι καὶ σαδδουκαῖοι and οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι may have been formed in an analogous fashion.

From the fact that some things are ascribed to the scribes and the Pharisees which also apply to the other Jewish leaders, it follows that one should not stress the content of the terminology. This is clear for Mt 12, 38 where we see a transition, which is not explained, from the Pharisees in 12, 24 to 'some of the scribes and Pharisees', and where a tradition is handed down which in Mt 16, 1 is ascribed to the Pharisees and Sadducees. The same is found in Mt 15, 1, where the Pharisees and scribes that are present turn out to be just

Pharisees in 15, 12. The accumulation of the expression in Mt 23 presumably indicates editorial activities. Actually what the author achieves is that Mt 23 becomes a greater unit. The change of title of address in Mt 23, 16-22.24, where they are called ὀδῆγοι τυφλοί, goes to show once again that Mt does not wish to stress the precise formulation, but rather the general idea that Jesus' accusation was directed at the leaders of the people. This may be particularly gathered from Mt 15, 14 where the same reproaches are made about the blind leadership of the Pharisees alone (15, 12).

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς

The high priests appear as a separate group only in Mt 26, 14; 27, 6 and 28, 11. Of these texts Mt 26, 14, with which Mt 27, 6 is connected, has been borrowed from Mk 14, 10 and one wonders whether the high priests in Mt 28, 11 do indeed appear as a separate group, because the immediately assemble with the elders (28, 12). In any case it cannot be said that Mt attributes a special place to the high priests as such.

οἱ πρεσβύτεροι

The elders are not mentioned anywhere in Mt as a separate group. Mt 15, 2, which has been borrowed from Mk 7, 5, only speaks of the elders in an attributive clause. Therefore, what applies to the ἀρχιερεῖς applies even more so to the πρεσβύτεροι: Mt is not interested in them as such.

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι (τοῦ λαοῦ)

The formulation peculiar to Mt should be sought in the combination of the high priests and the elders, which is found in Mt 21, 23; 26, 3.47; 27, 1.3.12.20; 28, 11-12. Since the expression is missing in Mk and Lk, we are probably dealing with an editorial formulation. The use of the addition τοῦ λαοῦ in Mt 21, 23; 26, 3.47 and 27, 1 is noteworthy; it tries to make clear that they act as the representatives of the people themselves.

As in the case of other formulations treated above, this combination can likewise be exchanged for other formulations. While in Mt 21, 23 the high priests and the elders of the people come to Jesus, it appears from Mt 21, 45 that the high priests and the Pharisees have listened. The decision that Jesus must die, which is made in Mt 26, 3; 27, 1 and which is executed in 27, 20 by the high

priests and the elders, is ascribed to the Pharisees in Mt 12, 14, to the elders, high priests and scribes in Mt 16, 21 and to the high priests and the scribes in Mt 20, 18. The history of Judas and the Jewish leaders takes place between the high priests and the elders (26, 47; 27, 3) and the high priests (26, 14; 27, 6). And who precisely is involved in the guarding of the sepulchre is not clear either, in view of the divergence between Mt 27, 62 (high priests and Pharisees), 28, 11 (high priests) and 28, 11-12 (high priests and elders).

It does not seem likely that the expression in question could have referred to other groups than those previously mentioned. The tradition has linked up the events in Jerusalem with the names of the high priests and the elders (cf. Mk, where the high priests and the elders do not appear until chapter 11 and in the prophecies of the passion) and Mt concurs with this. Mt (and the tradition before him) did not distinguish (or did not wish to distinguish) between the various groups.

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι

This expression occurs only in Mt 21, 45 and 27, 62 and we have already seen that within the larger context of the gospel they have to be identified with οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ (21, 45/21, 23) and οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς — μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων (27, 62/28, 11-12), respectively.

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς

In Mt it is found only three times: Mt 2, 4; 20, 18; 21, 15. Therefore no far-reaching consequences can be expected. Nevertheless a tendency similar to that which we have found in the expression οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι, seems to be present here, Mt uses only the sequence: high priests and scribes (in Lk 20, 19 the expression is found οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς) and twice he uses a single definite article: Mt 2, 4 and 20, 18 (and he does this in spite of the parallel text in Mk 10, 33). That the content of the expression is hardly accentuated appears from the parallel texts of Mt 20, 18 in Mt 12, 14; 16, 21; 26, 3; 27, 1 and of Mt 21, 15 in Mt 9, 34; 12, 24. The representative character of these people can be gathered from the expression οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ Mt 2, 4.

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὅλον

This formulation in Mt 26, 59 has been borrowed from Mk 14, 55 and therefore it does not have any special significance for Mt himself.

οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι

In contrast with Mk 14, 53, Mt 26, 57 does not have the ἀρχιερεῖς present at the trial of Jesus. A conscious editing, however, seems to be out of the question, since Mt 26, 59 in accord with Mk 14, 55 again mentions οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς.

οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς

On two occasions, three names are used in one formulation: Mt 16, 21 and 27, 41. Of these Mt 16, 21 completely corresponds to Lk 9, 22 (not only in the sequence of the names but also in the use of the definite article). Mt 27, 41 is more difficult to explain in that Mt keeps simplifying the combination of the three groups he finds in Mk (see Mk 11, 27; 14, 43.53 and 15, 1). Moreover, from the manuscripts it appears that in the course of the tradition there has been a tendency to have all the adversaries of Jesus present near the cross (D W it sy^s p bo^{pt} and the koinè-group also speak of οἱ φαρισαῖοι).

Summary:

These are all the texts that mention the leaders of the Jewish people. We could conclude from this that for Mt the most typical expressions are: οἱ φαρισαῖοι καὶ σαδδουκαῖοι, οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι and οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι (τοῦ λαοῦ). It seems evident that Mt did not wish to create any distinction between the various groups. He prefers a combination-formula. In view of the interchangeability of one group for the other, all the texts must be put together if one wishes to get some idea of what Mt wishes to make clear to his readers about the representatives of Israel.

This datum has been taken as the starting point for the study that follows. Moreover, since I have restricted myself to a 'redaktions-geschichtliche' approach to the texts, the inner coherence of the themes that have been studied should not be exaggerated, although of course I have tried to give an exposition that is logically coherent. A first sifting of the material soon shows that the texts

can be brought together in three greater units: texts which give a description of the Jewish leaders themselves; texts which go into the matter of the leaders' attitude towards Jesus; and texts in which the leaders confront the other groups that appear in the gospel, such as the disciples of Jesus and the crowds. Although this division is adequate, I have refused to maintain this scheme, because I wished to avoid any unnecessary duplications. It seems to me meaningful to discuss the texts only within the most significant context.

This procedure brought the following results. The study began with a consideration of the two most important epithets, namely that the Jewish leaders are ὑποκριταί (chapter 1) and πονηροί (chapter 2). By its very nature this restriction is a choice, but to my mind a justified choice, because other descriptions, such as for instance the words τυφλοί, μωροί, γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν do not have the same importance, and also their editorial character is less certain. The texts in which these expressions are used will therefore be discussed in a different context. In the course of the following chapters we shall trace how Mt thought about the attitude of the Jewish leaders towards Jesus. Mt is the only evangelist who calls them φονεῖς, a theme which immediately links up with the general Jewish motif of the murder of the prophets (chapter 3). Moreover the passion narrative should be studied, in which the tradition itself had already decisively influenced the part played by the Jewish leaders. It is obvious that the anti-Jewish tendency, which gave rise to the Mt gospel, found a fertile soil in these stories in which it achieved its full expression (chapter 4). In the final chapters we shall see how Mt describes the Jewish leaders in comparison with the other groups that appear in the gospel: οἱ μαθηταί (chapter 5), and οἱ ἄλλοι (chapter 6). The study joins the great number of 'redaktionsgeschichtliche' studies that have been published during the last few years. Each text therefore should not only be seen in connection with the whole of the Mt gospel, but also in its confrontation with the results of modern exegesis. The strongly analytical character resulting from this procedure will be partly met, I hope, by the recapitulation at the end of this study.

ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΑΙ

Haenchen's theory that the *ὑπόκρισις* is the summary of all the traditional charges in Mt against Pharisaism¹ is highly exaggerated according to G. Barth.² Mt has many more possibilities at his disposal for expounding his views with regard to Judaism. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that no other qualification is so completely worked out. This can only be explained if one believes that the accusation of hypocrisy fits in the over-all plan of Mt's stand.

The word *ὑποκριτής* is only used by the Synoptics: 13/1/3: Mt uses the word traditionally in Mt 7, 5 (Q); 15, 7 (Mk 7, 6) and 22, 18 (Mk 12, 15 speaks about *ὑπόκρισις*); in Mt 23, 13.23.25.27.29; 24, 51 it has been inserted in Q-material and in Mt 6, 2.5.16; 23, 15 is found in the 'Sondergut'. The word *ὑπόκρισις* is found also sporadically elsewhere in the N.T. (Gal 2, 13; 1 Tim 4, 2; 1 Pt 2, 1), as well as in the Synoptics: Mt 23, 28; Mk 12, 15; Lk 21, 1. If we wish to discover what exactly Mt had in mind with his accusation of hypocrisy, we should study these texts from a 'redaktionsgeschichtliche' point of view.

Mt 6, 1-6.16-18

In Mt 6, 1-6.16-18 the Pharisees as such are not discussed, but still these verses are very important if one wishes to understand Mt's attitude towards Pharisaism. On account of the connection with Mt 5, 20, where a charge is brought against the *δικαιοσύνη* of the scribes and the Pharisees, and in connection with Mt 23, 5-7, where the concrete application is made, one might say that in the whole of the Mt gospel Mt 6, 1-6. 16-18 too, at least from the editorial point of view, is directed at the scribes and Pharisees.

Practically all the authors agree that these verses belong together and that Mt 6, 7-15 is a later insertion.³ Nor is there much dispute

¹ E Haenchen, *Matthaus* 23, ZThK 48 (1951) 58

² G Barth, *Das Gesetzesverständnis des Evangelisten Matthaus*, in Bornkamm—Barth—Held, *Überlieferung und Auslegung im Matthäusevangelium*, 57 and 57, note 4

³ J Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, I, 161, note 1, gives a whole list of authors,

about the traditional character of the 'Lehrgedicht' ¹: Mt 6, 2-6. 16-18. ² Only Mt 6, 2 is questionable because of the use of the singular (ὅταν ποιῇς ἐλεημοσύνην), which does not correspond with 6, 5.16 (ὅταν προσεύχῃσθε; ὅταν νηστεύητε). ³ Klostermann sees two possibilities: either there is a wrong translation from the Aramaic, or the singular came into the text at an early date on account of 6, 3. Whatever the case may be, from a textual-critical point of view there is no reason why the singular in 6, 2 should be doubtful. Moreover, the change of the singular into the plural is so normal that it hardly justifies any conclusion in respect of an editorial intervention. ⁴

Only Mt 6, 1 can seriously be considered as an editorial element. It is the headline ⁵ of the passage that follows and in the rabbinic literature it is called 'ab' or 'kelal'. ⁶ Gerhardsson says about the function of such a 'kelal': 'It denotes not only a concentrated basic statement, a generalization which introduces (or concludes) a series of commandments in the written or oral law, but also the concentrated summary or heading of haggadic exposition'. ⁷ This stylistic means is already used in the Pentateuch, but it is more

among whom Allen, Klostermann, McNeile, Sorron, Lagrange, Bultmann, Knox

¹ This name is from M. Albertz, he is followed by H. Windisch, *Meaning of the Sermon on the Mount*, 34, see also Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 206.

² See among others G. Eichholz, *Auslegung der Bergpredigt*, 106; W. Ott, *Gebet und Heil*, 91, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 141, T. Manson, *Sayings of Jesus*, 164 171, J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, I, 160-161, H. Windisch, *Meaning of the Sermon on the Mount*, 86. E. Schweizer, *Matth 5, 17-20 Anmerkungen zum Gesetzverständnis des Matthäus*, TLZ 77 (1952) 482, note 9, makes an appeal for seeing material of Mt in Mt 6, 2-4 5-6 16-18 and older subject-material in Mt 6, 7 ff. The arguments put forward by him could be used in order to prove that Mt 6, 1 can be attributed to Mt.

³ E. Klostermann, *Zum Verständnis von Mt 6, 2*, ZNW 47 (1956) 280-281.

⁴ A. George, *La justice à faire*, Bibl 40 (1959) 590.

⁵ As to W. Nagel, *Gerechtigkeit oder Almosen?* (Mt 6, 1), Vig. Chr. 15 (1961) 141-145, who wishes to see Mt 6, 1 as a 'Vorsatz' of 6, 2-4 in conformity with Mt 6, 5 and 6, 16, it should be remarked that he could reach this conclusion only because he proceeds too carelessly in his analysis. In no way is Mt 6, 1 a parallel of Mt 6, 5 16, not even if one reads ἐλεημοσύνη instead of the much more probable δικαιοσύνη. A better exposition of the literary structure of Mt 6, 1-18 is found in A. George, *La justice à faire dans le secret* (Matthieu 6, 1-6 et 16-18), Bibl 40 (1959) 590-598.

⁶ J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, I, 131 160, D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 63-66.

⁷ B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, 139.

often and more consciously applied in the prae-tannaitic, tannaitic and amoraic periods.

One could therefore agree with Dupont who says that Mt 6, 1 is part of the Sermon on the Mount, which is the basis of the Sermon on the Mount such as we find it in Mt,¹ but this is not valid as an argument. In Mt's time too this was an ordinary construction. The fact that the most important terms used in the other verses are found here is precisely the stylistic means which makes this verse into a 'kelal'.² It is therefore obviously more difficult to show that this verse is editorial, the more so if the other verses are to be seen as traditional. In any case δικαιοσύνη (7/0/1) is the most important word in the verse, because it summarizes the three activities that follow under the heading of 'righteousness'. The fact that this term is one of the words Mt is fond of using is an important argument in favour of the editorial character of the verse. Via this concept Mt 6, 2-4.5-6.16-18 in particular are linked with Mt 5, 20 and 6, 33.³ Mt 6, 1 functions through this word as a key-sentence in the structure of the first part of the Sermon on the Mount.

ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων is found only in Mt 5, 16; 10, 32 (= Lk 12, 8); 10, 33; 23, 13 and 6, 1. It is therefore not enough to point out ἐμπροσθεν as a 'Vorzugswort' ⁴; the expression ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων is much clearer. πρὸς τό + infinitive 5/1/1; πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι + dative does not occur anywhere else in Mt apart from Mt 23, 5. This construction is a very special one as appears from Blass-Debrunner § 313. Mt also shows a certain preference for the word μισθός (10/1/3). In Mt 6, 1 the word as such has been borrowed from Mt 6, 2.5.16. The great difference in usage between Mt 6, 1 and 6, 2 ff. is that 6, 1 has ἔχειν μισθόν and not ἀπέχειν μισθόν as in 6, 2 ff. This is important because it could be an indication that the author of 6, 1 need not have written the following verses. ἔχειν μισθόν is found also in Mt 5, 46 and it is possible that Mt refers to it.⁵

¹ J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, I, 159-160.

² The same must be said against A. George, *Bibl* 40 (1959) 592, who speaks of a Jesus-logion. The 'kelal' character of the verse does not rule out the possibility that it might be from Jesus himself, but this does not prove that it is authentic.

³ I do not see clearly why the word δικαιοσύνη should be the *lectio difficilior* as Strecker, *Weg*, 152 note 2 contends in answer to the article of W. Nagel.

⁴ Strecker, *Weg*, 152.

⁵ Strecker, *Weg*, 152.

ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς is found 13/2/0 times; of these Mk 11, 26 is questionable from the point of view of textual criticism and in Mk 11, 25 the tradition of the text is ambiguous. In Mt we find it in 5, 16.45; 6, 1.9; 7, 11.21; 10, 32.33; 12, 50; 16, 17; 18, 10.14.19. It is important to realize that the expression does not occur exactly with Mt 6, 4.6.18 where we always find ὁ πατήρ ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ (κρυφαίῳ).

From all these data we might gather that Mt 6, 1 is an editorial summary of the following verses 6, 2-6.16-18.

The concept ὑποκριτής has been given a nuance of its own by these verses. The opposition, which was the point at issue, is gradually elaborated more clearly in the course of Mt 6, 2-6.16-18. Mt 6, 4: ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ; 6, 6: τῷ πατρὶ σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ; 6, 18: μὴ φανῆς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις . . . ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ. Moreover the verses are structured in a special manner by expressions like: ὅπως δοξασθῶσιν / φανῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων and ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν, which return like the refrain in a song. All this is summarized in the editorial Mt 6, 1: ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ θαυθῆναι αὐτοῖς and μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν. The ὑποκριτής is a person who bypasses the divine forum and patterns his life after the forum of man. More important than the deed itself is the honour which one deserves because of the deed. One does not do things because they are good in themselves but for the sake of being seen. This attitude is rejected and the motivation is: whoever has received the glory of men has already gotten his reward and there will be no reward for him in heaven.

The antitheses in Mt 5, 21-28 are also continued to some extent in Mt 6, 1-18.¹ This may be inferred from the repeated μὴ or sometimes οὐ in Mt 6, 2.5.16, the ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν in 6, 2.5.16 and the connection between Mt 6, 1 and 5, 20 which immediately leads to 5, 21-48. Mt 6, 1 ff. deals with the Law in the same way as 5, 21-48. In this 'Frömmigkeitsregel'² the community realizes that its own Christian piety is to be distinguished from that of Judaism.

Mt 6, 1-18 is a Christian halachah with a strong influence of the wisdom-literature genre: an appeal is made to a motive which

¹ E. Klostermann, Zum Verständnis von Mt 6, 2, ZNW 47 (1956) 280-281.

² Bultmann, Geschichte, 156.

has been derived from this kind of literature· form a wise decision and do not look for a reward among men, but with the Father in heaven.¹ We find this particular expression in Strack-Billerbeck² but there is not a single text which immediately concurs with Mt 6, 1-6.16-18.³

The most important supposition is after all that honour, i.e.

¹ On the influence of the Wisdom-literature in the Sermon on the Mount see H. Windisch, *The Meaning of the Sermon on the Mount*

² I, 390 the clearest example is to be found in Sanh 10ra. Als Elieser erkrankt war, gingen seine Schuler zu ihm, um ihm zu besuchen. Er sprach zu ihnen: Ein heftiger Zorn ist in der Welt. Jene fingen an zu weinen. R. Aqiba aber lachte. Sie sprachen zu ihm: Warum lachst du? Er antwortete: Weshalb weint ihr? Sie sprachen: Kann das Buch der Tora (= R. Elieser) in Schmerzen weilen und wir sollten nicht weinen? Er antwortete: Eben-deshalb lache ich, denn solange ich meinen Lehrer sah, wie ihm sein Wein nicht sauer und sein Flachs nicht zerschlagen und sein Öl nicht stinkend und sein Honig nicht garend ward, dachte ich, ob etwa, was Gott verhüten wolle, mein Lehrer seine Welt (bereits) empfangen hat? Jetzt, da ich meinen Lehrer in Schmerzen sehe, freue ich mich (da ich daraus erkenne, dass er seinen Lohn noch nicht dahin hat). One might also refer to TgGC Gen 38, 26 (ms D): 'When Juda saw the three witnesses, he stood up, shouted and said: Listen to me, my brethren and you men of my father's house. With what measure a man measures in that same will it be measured to him, whether good measure or bad, and blessed is every man whose deed they (God) reveal, better is it for me to blush in this world than to blush in the world to come, better is it for me to burn in the fire that extinguishes than to burn in the fire that devours fire, because I took the coat of Joseph, my brother, and sent it to my father and said to him: Do you perhaps know whether this coat is that of your son, Joseph? The measure is according to the measure; the rule according to the rule. Tamar, my daughter is innocent in judgment, she has conceived by me', see P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, II, 19, R. Bloch, *Note sur l'utilisation des fragments de la Geniza du Caire pour l'étude du Targum Palestinien*, REJ 114 (1955) 25-27, R. Bloch, *Juda engendra Pharaon et Zara, de Thamar*, Matth 1, 3 in 'Mélanges Bibliques', rédigés en l'honneur de André Robert, Paris 1957, 381-389, M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, 140-142. One should have trust in God, then honour or dishonour do not count. Then one has to choose between being ashamed in this world or in the next, or between burning in this world or in the world to come.

³ Nor in E. Klostermann, *Matthäusevangelium*, 53, in spite of Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 191, note 9. The only quotation from the Jewish world given by Klostermann is Baba bathra 10b. R. Eleazar from Modium has said: all good works, which are done by the idolators, will be counted as their sins, for they do them only in order to be honoured, (also see Allen, *Gospel*, 56, who quotes this text). I am not all that certain however, whether this may be used as evidence for saying that this concept was common property in Judaism, besides, this text is of a fairly recent date (R. Eleazar died in the middle of the second century) and one should notice that the text speaks of idolators, pagans, which means precisely those people from whom Eleazar may have borrowed.

being seen by men, ranks as a reward. This is also precisely the content of the concept ὑποκριτής in these verses and it is remarkable that one has to turn to the Hellenistic authors if one wishes to explain the content of this concept. Mt 6, 1a is not about the respect of persons which is given to the rich, compared with God who does not have this respect of persons (see James 2, 1-4; Rom 2, 11; Eph 6, 9; Col 3, 25), nor is it about the δόξα which is contrasted with the αἰσχύνη (see Lk 14, 7-11)¹ and which is closely connected with wealth and power. Rather, it is about the honour which falls to the virtuous man on account of the good things he does and negatively it is the honour which one tries to win by exhibiting one's good works.

In Mt 6, 1 ff. the Hellenistic concept of ὑποκριτής plays an important part; there it has the meaning of actor.² This can be gathered from the words ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς, ὅπως δοξασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. The ὑποκριτής, under the mask of being a benefactor, seeks his own honour and the approval of men. From Plato onwards, however, such an attitude has been censured in the Greek philosophy.³ Especially the popular Stoic thinkers have expounded their views against these people. The reward of the good word should not be looked for outside the work itself, for the reward of good is virtue and the punishment of evil is sin. Therefore Seneca can write: 'qui virtutem suam publicari vult, non virtuti laborat sed gloriae.'⁴ We find in Mt 6, 1 a mixture of Jewish and Hellenistic thinking.

Mt 7, 5

In Mt 7, 5 Mt borrows the word ὑποκριτής directly from his 'Vorlage', as can be seen from Lk 6, 42. The resemblances between the two texts are too great to admit of the possibility of merely editorial influence. Besides, it is very questionable whether Mt 7, 5 can be interpreted as anti-pharisaic. Whatever the original meaning of the 'Bildwort' may have been,⁵ in the present text it is an

¹ J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, I, 230-236.

² Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 193, U. Wilckens, *TWNT*, VII, 559, s v ὑποκρίνομαι

³ H. Preisker, *TWNT*, IV, 708, s v μισθός.

⁴ Epist. XIX, 4, 32, quoted in E. Klostermann, *Mttevangelium*, 53 and in Grundmann, *Evangelium* 191, note 9, see also Epict. *Diss* IV, 8, 1.

⁵ Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 167 thinks that Mt 7, 3-5 was originally meant to be directed against the Pharisees

utterance for the benefit of the ἀδελφοί who are warned not to constitute themselves as judges who place themselves above their brothers.¹

Mt 15, 1-9

In Mt 15, 7 the word ὑποκριταί has also been borrowed from the 'Vorlage'. Mt 15, 1-9, however, needs a more extensive discussion, because there are so many theories in circulation, and not all these can be simultaneously true. The general view of the editorial activities of Mt has clearly influenced the judgment of this particular pericope. Only through a critical appreciation can one prevent oneself from drawing any concrete conclusions on the basis of a-priori ideas about this text. The first question that should be asked is which precisely are the differences between the texts of Mk and Lk and to what extent one can speak of editorial activities. Only then is one justified in building up a theory which tries to synthesize the various data.

The first remarkable thing about this text is the fact that it concentrates on a limited number of concepts. This begins already in verse 2-3:

2: διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταί σου παραβαίνουσιν τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων;

3: διὰ τί καὶ ὑμεῖς παραβαίνετε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν;

The tradition of the presbyters is placed over against the commandment of God and the accusation that the disciples violate the tradition is answered by the even more serious accusation that the Pharisees break the law of God for the sake of their tradition. This is continued consistently in verse 4 and verse 5 by the opposition of ὁ γὰρ θεὸς εἶπεν and ὑμεῖς λέγετε. What the scribes and Pharisees say goes against what is said by God. The commandment of God says: τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, but they say: οὐ μὴ τιμήσει τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ (verse 6). At the end in verse 6b a summary is given of what precedes: διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν the word of God is suspended.

This pericope deals with the contrast between the command-

¹ Beilner, Christus, 99-100; G. Eichholz, Auslegung der Bergpredigt, 150-152; but also Jeremias, Gleichnisse, 108 note 2.

ment of God and 'your tradition'. The Pharisees and the scribes have no right to speak, for they are hypocrites who avow God's commandment with their lips, but actually consider the human tradition to be higher. In the word *ὑποκριταί* everything is summarized: God's Law is broken by them and rendered inoperative; their tradition goes directly against what God wishes. One should not listen to what they have to say for they violate the word of God. The concept of *ὑποκριτής*, found in Mt 15, 7, has been borrowed from Mk 7, 6, but it has been given the content it has in Mt 23, 13-33. The Jewish leaders are *ὑποκριταί* because they go against the Law of God. Jesus is not presented as a rabbi who looks for a place of his own inside Judaism, nor as one who breaks through the concept of the rabbinical tradition with his commandment of charity. Jesus says that one should not obey the tradition of the Pharisees and the scribes, for it goes against the will of God himself. Jesus gives the word of God as the one and only norm. And it is God as he spoke through Moses. In this sense the pericope is neither anti-Jewish nor specifically 'Christian'. It is not about a special revelation which Jesus wishes to disclose to his disciples as a secret doctrine. Jesus is the prophet who indicts the pernicious tradition of the scribes and the Pharisees. One should listen to what God says and not to what they say.

What can be ascribed to Mt in all this? Much has been derived from the text of Mk. Also in Mk 7, 1-23 there is question of a contrast between *παράδοσις* and *ἐντολή τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Mk 7, 8.9.13). This contrast, however, has not been so sharply elaborated. Through the use of the words *κρατεῖτε* (7, 8), *στήσῃτε* (7, 9) and *ποιεῖτε* (7, 13) it says that the Pharisees and the scribes at least obey the *παράδοσις*. In Mt this no longer appears. In Mk 7, 10 it says *Μωϋσῆς γὰρ εἶπεν*, i.e., the contrast between what people say and what God says is not worked out any further. It is even more remarkable that the text of Mt 15, 6 in contrast to Mk 7, 12 literally quotes the fourth commandment: *τίμα — οὐ μὴ τιμήσῃ*. Not obeying the commandment of God is expressed in Mk by the words *ἀφέντες* (7, 8), *ἀθετεῖτε* (7, 9), *ἀκυροῦντες* (7, 13). Mt borrows the term *ἀκυρώ* (15, 6), but gives his own interpretative summary of the whole in the word *παραβαίνετε* (15, 3). In Mk the stress is on the fact that the *παράδοσις* is the work of man (7, 6.8), but apart from the formula of the scriptural quotation Mt does not take this term over. He lays the stress on the pejorative *ὑμῶν* (15, 3.6), which

has been borrowed from Mk 7, 13, but which links up with the typical Matthean usage συναγωγή ὑμῶν.¹

Since Mk 7, 3-4.13b has been left out, the text of Mt concentrates on the eating with unwashed hands. Mk makes it clear that this is one example taken from a great number of other examples. This difference shows once more how the text in Mt 15, 1-9 is not meant to be anti-Jewish. The text does not deal with distancing oneself from Judaism, but with the positive duty of carrying out God's will. Finally, the scriptural quotation, Is 29, 13 has another place. In Mt it functions as a conclusion and thus the word ὑποκριταί has a special stress in Mt.

It is evident that much of the preceding material can be attributed to the editorial activities of Mt. The procedure of the concentration of a limited number of concepts into one pericope is also found on an editorial level in Mt 16, 5-12; 17, 10-13.² One could point out the typically Matthean expressions such as τότε προσέρχονται (15, 1), ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (15, 3)³; the combination Ἰησοῦς — οἱ μαθηταί (15, 1.2), παράδοσις ὑμῶν (15, 3, 6) and ὑποκριταί as a form of address (15, 7). The point of the pericope corresponds with the teaching in Mt 23: Pharisees and scribes are hypocrites, for they do not obey God's will and even persuade others to do the same. As shown immediately above Mt 15, 1-9 shows a very strong structure and this in turn is wholly focused on the real Matthean concept. Therefore these changes that have been mentioned must be attributed to Mt himself. There is one exception I wish to make: the omission of Mk 7, 3-4.13b. First of all, why Mt left out these verses cannot be clarified⁴ and secondly, it is probable that Mk 7, 3-4.13b was not added until a

¹ For this question see Mt 23, 34, p. 65; Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 29; Kilpatrick, Origins, 110-111

² See Held, Matthäus als Interpret, 158-182, who with the help of Mt 8, 14-15.16-17.28 34; 9, 2-8 18-26; 14, 15-21; 15, 32-38; 17, 14-20 shows that Mt has used the 'Kürzung' as an interpretative technique.

³ See Mt 22, 1, p. 51.

⁴ What is put forward by E. Haenchen, Weg Jesu, 268 about this text leaves more to the imagination of the reader than can be substantiated: 'Wieder hat Mt—der einen riesigen Stoff unterbringen musste; wir wissen leider nicht, ob auf einer Papyrusrolle oder schon einem Papyruskodex—nach Möglichkeit gekürzt. Den ganzen Exkurs des Mk über die jüdischen Reinheitssitten hat er fortgelassen; aber auch den Rest der Einleitung hat er straff zusammengezogen' In any case the lack of paper can hardly be given as a reason why Mt should have omitted Mk 7, 3-4.

later edition.¹ It is not all out of the question that this text was never known in the community of Mt. If this is so, one cannot say Mt left these verses.

Mt 22, 18

Mt 22, 18 links up with Mk 12, 15 which speaks of αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν. In view of the few editorial differences in the pericope, it is impossible to distil from this text a theory peculiar to Mt. Actually Mt identifies the ὑπόκρισις with πονηρία a subject which will be taken up in the next chapter.

Mt 23, 5-7

In Mt 23, 5-7 we find a concrete application to the Pharisees and the scribes of what was put forward in general terms in Mt 6, 1-18. Mt 23, 5a must be seen as the centre of this group of verses, for it repeats what is essential in Mt 6, 1-18 πάντα δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ποιοῦσιν πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. After the logion about the heavy burdens it takes up again the idea expressed in Mt 23, 3b κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν μὴ ποιεῖτε and at the same time introduces the next three verses, Mt 23, 5b-7. These structural characteristics can only be explained if Mt 23, 5a is seen as editorial. In the traditional material of 23, 5b-7 Mt has seen an opportunity for expounding in concrete terms his doctrine about the ὑπόκρισις of the scribes and Pharisees who as actors show off their own goodness.

It appears from the parallel texts in Mk 12, 38-39 and Lk 20, 46 that Mt 23, 6-7a uses traditional material. Since Mt 23, 5b-7 shows a coherence as far as the contents are concerned, and since for all the data a clearly Palestinian environment can be demonstrated, the 'Sondergut' Mt 23, 5b and 23, 7b must be traditional. It is really only a variation on the well-known theme of 'standing on one's dignity'. The 'Sitz im Leben' of these verses is the strong anti-pharisaic trend which characterizes the Judaism of the first century. There are texts of Qumran which point in this direction, but even clearer parallels are found in Ass. Mos 7, 3-10 and Test XII Patr., viz. T. Aser 2, 5-8, where official Judaism is charged with being double-hearted and ambiguous.²

¹ See E. Best, *Temptation and Passion*, 79, Taylor, Gospel, 334

² A. Jaubert, *La Notion d'Alliance dans le Judaïsme*, 260-276

The editorial influence in these verses has been limited to a number of stylistic changes. Thus, presumably, the use of the 3rd. person present plural must be attributed to Mt himself: πλατύνουσιν, μεγάλυνουσιν, φιλοῦσιν. It corresponds with Mt 23, 3-5: λέγουσιν, δεσμεύουσιν, ποιοῦσιν and it stands in contrast with Mk 12, 38: θελόντων and Lk 20, 46: θελόντων — φιλοῦντων. Presumably also the reversal in sequence in 23, 7a may be attributed to Mt. In Mk 12, 38 and Lk 20, 46 there is mention of the ἄσπασμοί before the πρωτοκαθεδρίας. In any case it must be said that this reversal in the present text of Mt should be understood on the basis of Mt 23, 7b. By giving ἄσπασμοί a place at the end, the 'being called rabbi' could follow more easily. Whoever added 23, 7b must therefore also have changed the sequence of the sentence.

The author, however, cannot be said to have completely succeeded in his editorial planning. Syntactically speaking the sentence in Mt 23, 7b is incomplete: after three nouns we suddenly find an infinitive which is still dependent on the φιλοῦσιν of 23, 6. One can only conjecture as to why 23, 7b was ultimately given this place. It is possible that Mt made this addition in order to link the strongly anti-pharisaic tradition of 23, 5-7a with 23, 8-11, which in itself is not all that anti-pharisaic.¹ Still it is not out of the question that if 23, 7b were added at an earlier date (to 23, 5-7a or to 23, 8-12), it would have been easier for Mt to link 23, 5-7a with 23, 8-12.² To my mind the first hypothesis seems to be the most probable one: Mt borrowed the concept from Mt 23, 8, changed the sequence in 23, 6-7a and thus composed a secondary unit.

Mt 23, 13-33

The parallel text Lk 11, 37-53 alternately applies these accusations to the Pharisees and the scribes. The over-all impression shows more nuances in the latter passage and several authors point out³ that in doing so Lk also more closely approaches the historical situation.⁴ Mt has brought the Pharisees and the scribes

¹ E Haenchen, *Matthaus 23*, ZThK 48 (1951) 42

² See further F Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel*, 79

³ J Schmid, *Evangelium nach Lukas*, 210, T Manson, *Sayings of Jesus*, 96, Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 15, W Pesch, *Der Lohngedanke in der Lehre Jesus*, 41, Kilpatrick, *Origins*, 31

⁴ A Linkel's theory in 'The Pharisees and the Teacher of Nazareth', that Mt 23 is directed against the disciples of Shammai, lacks historical arguments. It is not enough to point out a vague resemblance and then

under one heading and in doing so he achieves a greater consistency. Presumably this would have to be attributed to Mt himself. This even more so in respect of the term ὑποκριταί, such a repetition in a structural unit can only be ascribed to the work of an editor.¹ 'Mt hat die grosse, programmatische Rede gegen die Repräsentanten der jüdischen Lehrüberlieferung unter dem Gesichtspunkt (der theologischen Polemik) komponiert, indem er die sieben Weherufe stereotyp mit der Formel einleitet: οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί (Mt 23, 13.15.23.25.27.29)'.²

The subject of the ὑπόκρισις has been further elaborated particularly in 23, 25-28. Mt 23, 25-26 appear to have been difficult texts in the tradition. At base there must have been a logion about purity and impurity with reference to the Pharisees. However, it is no longer ascertainable whether the cup and the dish are meant to be metaphors referring to the Pharisees (the outside clean and pure and the inside impure and unclean, as in 23, 27-28) or that, as in 23, 16-22, it is a question of casuistry (if the cup is clean on the outside, the same is true of the inside).³ Lk, by adding ὑμῶν in 11, 39, gives an interpretation in the direction of the first meaning. From the fact that his version reads with greater ease it might be assumed that this interpretation of Lk is secondary compared to Mt.

In the first instance Mt 23, 25 should certainly be understood as casuistry about the in- and outside of the cup and dish,⁴ for the subject of γέμουσιν is ποτήριον καὶ παροψίς. From 23, 13 onwards the scribes and Pharisees are always addressed in the second person plural or in the form of a participle. The transition to the third

proceed to fundamental pronouncements. Also according to J. Massingberd Ford, Mt should be situated in the context of the conflict between Hillel and Shammai; see Reflections on W. D. Davies'. "The Sermon on the Mount", Bibl 48 (1967) 623-628 where he attacks Davies' theory about the anti-Jamnia character of Mt and where he says that Mt should be dated back to the time of the controversy between Hillel and Shammai.

¹ E. Haenchen, Matthäus 23, ZThK 48 (1951) 46; Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 69; Strecker, Weg, 140; Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 87; Kilpatrick, Origins, 31.

² U. Wilckens, TWNT, s.v. ὑποκρίνομαι, VIII, 566. For Mt 23, 16-22, see chapter 5, p. 104.

³ Allen, Gospel, 248; Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 49.164; Schmid, Evangelium, 327; T. Manson, Sayings of Jesus, 237.

⁴ Strecker, Weg, 31; Beilner, Christus, 220.

person plural is too abrupt and too exceptional to refer to the Pharisees and scribes as the subject.¹

This can also be inferred from the next verse 23, 26, which should be read as an explanatory tradition of 23, 25²: the inside of the cup is more important than the outside. The linguistic differences between 23, 25 and 23, 26 are great: φαρισαῖε τυφλέ in the singular as compared with the plural in 23, 25; φαρισαῖε as compared with γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι; παροψίς has been left out; ἔξωθεν — ἔσωθεν has become τὸ ἐκτός — τὸ ἐντός. Mt 23, 26 is an early, traditional³ explanation of the difficult verse 23, 25. However, through the coherence with 23, 27 another interpretation develops. Here the ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν of 23, 25 is repeated word for word. Since it is found in a subordinate clause, which through the comparison refers indirectly to the scribes and Pharisees the γέμουσιν of 23, 25 becomes retrospectively ambiguous in meaning. From 23, 27 one can say that from an editorial point of view Mt 23, 25 is to be understood as a metaphor referring to the Pharisees.

Not until Mt 23, 28 is it possible to show a clear editorial influence.⁴ That this is so can be gathered especially from the usage: ἔξωθεν μὲν . . . ἔσωθεν δέ has been borrowed from Mt 23, (25).27; φαίνομαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις is found in the N.T. only in Mt 6, 5.16.18; of the Synoptics Mt alone uses the word ἀνομία: 7, 23; 23, 28; 24, 12⁵;

¹ The theory of W. Knox, *The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, 98, that an original γέμετε under the influence of the γέμουσιν of 23, 27 was changed into γέμουσιν as well, 'while subsequently ἐξ was added, perhaps by Matthew himself, in order to give some sense to the passage', sound fantastic indeed, but at the same time it is an illustration of the difficulty of the verse; to my mind it is not all that clear that Mt is proclaiming the repeal of the ceremonial law in this text (Strecker, Weg, 139)

² Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 139, for Kilpatrick, *Origins*, 32 this is one of the reasons for accepting a source M

³ According to Strecker, Weg, 31, note 4, Mt 23, 26 is supposed to be Matthean at least from ἵνα onwards. To my mind this seems to be improbable. In Mt 23, 28 we see how Mt is at work as an editor. He borrows all his words from the tradition before him. In 23, 26 too many 'hapaxlegomena' are used, although the content of the logion itself does not necessitate this: ἐντός, ἐκτός, φαρισαῖος in the singular. If, moreover, 23, 26 should be seen as bearing on the ritual cleanliness of the cup (see Trilling, *Wahre Israel*, 200) and the editorial 23, 27-28 as bearing on the purity of man himself, it becomes less probable that Mt 23, 26 should be seen as editorial.

⁴ Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 118, Trilling, *Wahre Israel*, 201, McNeile, *Gospel*, 337, Schmid, *Evangelium*, 328, Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 494, E. Haenchen, *Matthaus 23*, *ZThK* 48 (1951) 50, U. Wilckens, *TWNT*, VIII, 567.

⁵ Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 82

οὕτως, δίκαιος and ὑπόκρισις belong to the vocabulary of Mt.¹ The scribes and the Pharisees are hypocrites, because they seem to be just from the outside, but turn out to be full of ὑπόκρισις and ἀνομία on the inside. We will return to the meaning of these words later, but at this point the remark should be made that one cannot say with G. Barth, 'Bezeichnend für die Bedeutung des Gesetzes ist bereits, dass die Gottlosigkeit, gegen die Mt kämpft, durch ein Kompositum von νόμος bezeichnet wird: es ist die ἀνομία, die Gesetzlosigkeit'.² This philological interpretation seems to be rather out of place here. Over against the being-ἄνομος we find the being-δίκαιος. The text does not deal with an antinomistic group, but with people who refuse to obey the Law which expresses the will of the father.³

The influence of Mt in Mt 23, 27 is more difficult to establish. Since Mt 23, 27 prepares Mt 23, 28 and at the same time refers to Mt 23, 25 (γέμω, ἔσωθεν and ἔξωθεν) it may be accepted that particularly from οὕτινες onwards Mt himself is speaking. This can also be gathered from the usage: ὅστις (28/6/18); μὲν . . . δέ (20/4/7) and φαίνομαι (13/2/2). The tradition such as it is found in Lk 11, 44 has been transformed by Mt into an immediate comparison, because he intended to give the application in Mt 23, 28: the scribes and the Pharisees are like sepulchres, beautiful on the outside and full of decay and corruption on the inside.

In modern languages a 'hypocrite' is someone who is a pretender, someone who represents himself as a better person than he really is. This idea of hypocrisy is by no means alien to the conception of Mt. It can be found in Mt 23, 27-28 and in this context also in 23, 25. We find the ἔξωθεν μὲν and the ἔσωθεν δέ opposed to each other; this opposition is even repeated twice in 23, 27-28. Also the use of the verb φαίνομαι leads to this interpretation. In the eyes of men they pretend to be righteous.

However, that this modern conception is only one component or manifestation of what Mt understands by the much more comprehensive ὑπόκρισις immediately appears from the fact that the outward appearance of righteousness is contrasted with the inner

¹ οὕτως 32/10/21; δίκαιος 17/2/11; ὑπόκρισις, see pag. 8.

² Gesetzesverständnis, 58; see also McNeile, Gospel 338; for criticism see also Trilling, Wahre Israel, 201, note 81.

³ Strecker, Weg, 137.

reality of ὑπόκρισις and ἀνομία (23, 28). Even in this text the opposition of outward appearance and inner reality is not the only concern. The ὑπόκρισις has to be looked for ἔσωθεν and the defining factor is essentially the ἀνομία, the wickedness of the godless man.¹

Not until then can one understand how Mt came to have nearly every woe in Mt 23, 13-33 accompanied by the qualification ὑποκριταί, for nowhere can one find one's way out with the definition of ὑπόκρισις as the opposition between what is external and internal, or between what is appearance and what is reality. In Mt 23, 13 the text deals with people who prevent others from entering the Kingdom of Heaven, because they themselves are not to enter it. In 23, 15 they are called ὑποκριταί, because they see to it that others turn into υἱοὶ γεέννης, even worse than they themselves. In 23, 23 ὑπόκρισις and νόμος are again associated. The verse deals with the opposition between what is lighter and what is heavier. The belief is that the tithes of mint, anise and cummin serve to meet one's obligations with regard to the fulfilment of the Law, but one forgets that the essence of the Law—the κρίσις, ἔλεος and πίστις—has been omitted. These βαρύτερα are not merely inner attitudes, but really the essence of the Law itself. Finally in the last woe (23, 29-33) the ὑπόκρισις is found in the fact that one errs in one's own judgment. One does not pretend to be more than one really is. There is the real belief that one is better than the fathers, but this is a mistake. The Pharisees are murderers of the prophets like their fathers before them.

It is noteworthy that this close connection between ὑπόκρισις and ἀνομία links up with the usage of this word in the LXX. In contrast to the classical usage where a negative meaning arises in a very special context only, we see that in the LXX ὑποκρίνομαι, ὑπόκρισις and ὑποκριτής are used only in sensu malo and then always in connection with the Law. The word ὑποκριτής is used several times as a translation of the Hebrew הָנִיף²: the godless individual 'who has fallen away from God' through his attitude and behaviour. The LXX-translators confine themselves strictly to this meaning

¹ W Gutbrod, TWNT, IV, 1079, s v ἀνομία

² Job 15, 34 (Aq, Symm), 20, 5 (Aq), 36, 13 (Theod), 34, 30, 36, 13 (LXX), Prov 11, 9 (Aq, Symm, Theod), Is 33, 14 (Aq, Symm, Theod); see also Is 32, 6 (Aq, Symm ὑπόκρισις for הָנִיף), for the references see Trilling, Wahre Israel, 199 and P Wernberg-Møller, The Manuel of Discipline, 180, note 33

of the word. They do not have in mind the dissembler who seems to be righteous but is not; they identify the ὑποκριτής with the godless man. This even holds good in texts like 2 Macc 6, 21.24; 4 Macc 6, 15. 17, where the story is told of Eleazar who refuses to eat the sacrificial meat, even though the meat that had been prepared did not really come under the definition forbidden meat. The real ὑπόκρισις is the sin of falling away from God and his Law, the sin of becoming τύπος ἀσεβείας and of thus leading others astray (4 Macc 6, 19; 2 Macc 6, 25). The connection of ὑπόκρισις with ἀνομία is exceptionally clear in Sir 32, 15; 33, 2. The sinner twists the Law to his own liking (32, 17) and therefore follows a road full of snares in which he gets trapped (32, 20.15). The ὑποκριταί hate the Law and therefore are driven out of their course like a ship in a storm.¹ Wilckens concludes his exposition of the idea of ὑποκρίνομαι in the LXX rightfully with the words: 'Der ὑποκριτής ist als solcher böse, ὑπόκρισις ist eine Aktionsart des Frevels. Dabei geht es nirgendwo um das Erwecken frommen Anscheins, der den Frevel als das wahre Gesicht verbirgt. Die Übersetzung 'Heuchelei' ist darum fast durchweg unzutreffend. Gemeint ist derjenige Trug, der den Frevel als Abfall bzw Widerspruch gegen Gott charakterisiert'.²

However, although the usage of Mt shows a close connection with that of the LXX, it cannot be said that Mt simply follows the LXX. He has made a contribution of his own. From the editorial sentences Mt 23, 27b-28 it appears that the ὑπόκρισις consists according to Mt (at least) in the opposition between φαίνομαι and εἶναι, between appearance and reality. Here we see the emergence of a typically Hellenistic world of ideas. We saw a similar phenomenon in 2 Macc 6, 21.24; 4 Macc 6, 15. 17: Eleazar has to pretend that he eats real, sacrificial meat, although it actually is something else. However, in Mt 23, 27-28 the meaning of the word is more general. This meaning of the word φαίνομαι cannot be directly translated back into the Hebr/Aram,³ while in Greek it is a concept, which has become common property since Plato and Aristotle⁴: φαίνομαι opposed to ὄντα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ and φαίνομαι opposed to εἰμί.⁵

¹ U. Wilckens, TWNT, VIII, 562-563, s.v. ὑποκρίνομαι.

² id. 564.

³ Schmid, Evangelium, 328.

⁴ Plato, Respubl. 596e; Arist. Topica 100b.24; Ethica Nicomachea 1113a.24: to be translated as 'mentally apparent'.

⁵ Arist. Rhetorica 1402a.28: to be translated as 'specious', 'fallacious'; see Liddell-Scott, Greek English Lexicon, s.v. φαίνω.

Over against the outward appearance of beauty we find the reality of being itself.¹

Mt 24, 51

Whether Mt himself has changed the ἄπιστοι of Lk 12, 46 into the ὑποκριταί of Mt 24, 51,² is difficult to prove. One cannot refer to the statistical datum that Mt uses the word more often than the other Synoptics, for Mt 24, 51 is certainly not about the scribes and the Pharisees and this is quite exceptional for Mt. Apart from Mt 7, 5, Mt always uses the word in connection with the leaders of the Jewish people.

Moreover one should notice that also the rabbis banish hypocrites to Gehenna.³ In those texts the hypocrites are the ones about whom Is has written: 'Woe unto them who dare call good what is wrong and wrong what is good'. It is remarkable that precisely the context of Is 5, 20 refers to our parable several times. Cf. Is 5, 19: 'Woe unto them who say: that he may hurry, hasten his work, that we may see it. The divine decree may come and fulfill itself, then we will know at once' (see Mt 24, 48); Is 5, 21: 'Woe unto them who are wise in their own esteem and who are intelligent in their own opinion' (see Mt 24, 45.49); Is 5, 22 'Woe unto them who are heroes in drinking wine and who are expert at mixing drinks' (see Mt 24, 49). Nor then does the eternal punishment that is mentioned in Mt 24, 51 seem so strange, if one has Is 5, 24 in mind.

It is obvious that we do not wish to say that Mt 24, 45-51 originates from Is 5, 19-24, but the latter may contain an explanation as to why all those data could be placed together. In any case it should make us proceed with care in attributing to Mt himself the use of the word ὑποκριτής. Together with the other typically semitic characteristics of Mt 24, 51⁴ it could point to the fact that the whole sentence in Mt is traditional and that perhaps Lk has changed the original ὑποκριτής into ἄπιστος.

Summary:

Mt has elaborated the charge of ὑπόκρισις extensively in his

¹ See also the texts in U. Wilckens, TWNT, VIII, 561-562.

² Jeremias, Gleichnisse, 54, note 6.

³ Str-B, I, 922; IV, 2, 1057 1072.

⁴ Jeremias, Gleichnisse, 54, note 6.

gospel. The ὑποκριτής is the godless person who despises and violates the law of God. He is brazen enough to extol the opposite of God's will as being really the will of God, although he himself does not know God's will at all. He has never understood the essence of the Torah and therefore the man who follows him will be worse than he himself.

His ὑπόκρισις makes him split up: on the outside he is beautiful in appearance, but on the inside he is full of rottenness and decay. Because Jesus has warned us, we can see the discrepancy between appearance and reality in such a person. One should keep away from him, for he is like a sepulchre and will lead to destruction.

He presents himself as better than he really is. He is an actor on the stage who shows off his good works in order to be seen and honoured. He is bent on glory and honour and people are willing to give him what he wants. They yield the first place to him and greet him in the street. They address him with titles that he thinks are his due. His hopes, however, will be deceived. He thinks to be clever, but his cleverness leads nowhere. The reward given to him by men will be withheld by God. What he receives on earth has no value in heaven. He will have to be satisfied with what has been his share in this life, for the divine reward will never be his.

These are the motifs which Mt has made use of in order to give the concept ὑποκριτής sense and content. From each sentence it appears that he did not intend to write history. He has called the leaders of the Jewish people ὑποκριταί: historically speaking this is the most unjustified charge that could be made against them.¹

¹ See for example L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees, The Sociological Background of their Faith*, 97-98 'The accusation of hypocrisy and punctiliousness was not one against which the Pharisees could defend themselves. If by hypocrisy was meant self-control, and by punctiliousness their insistence on the mastery and observance of detail in the Law, they were indeed guilty of both. They were, however, quite innocent of the charges of insincerity, fanaticism and false motives which were ascribed to them.'

The same is found in G. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim*, II, 193: 'That the Pharisees as a whole were conscious and calculating hypocrites whose ostentatious piety was a cloak for deliberate secret villainy, is unimaginable in view of the subsequent history of Judaism. For it was men of the Pharisaean party who tided Judaism over the two great crises of the destruction of Jerusalem and the war under Hadrian.'

Or as in I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, II, 29-32: Page 32: 'The charge of hypocrisy stirs the modern apologists of Pharisaism

However, Mt should not be blamed for doing so. The only thing he had in mind was a theological polemic, which not only concerned Judaism but Christianity as well. He has used the little amount of historical material that was at his disposal in order to make it clear to his community what they should avoid doing. The separation between Judaism and Christianity is definitive. The leader of the Jewish people is in the eyes of Mt the antithesis of the disciple of Jesus. Mt uses him only so that he can say how the Christian should not be. The anti-pharisaism of Mt is at the service of his own ethics.

to rage It may well do so, though some of us try to keep our temper. We understand too fully the need and value of the exposure of hypocrisy to do other than ask who would judge Pharisaism fairly, to investigate besides the fault to which the system was liable, the virtues which it actually revealed.'

ΠΟΝΗΡΟΙ

The fact that the leaders of the Jewish people are called *πονηροί* is a characteristic of the Mt gospel which is at least as typical as the charge that they are guilty of *ὑπόκρισις*. Mt is the only one of the Synoptics who calls the leaders *πονηροί*, but this is not the only datum. In the whole complex of texts where the word *πονηρός* (*πονηρία*) is used, there are two other elements that demand our attention. Mt accentuates in a special way the substantival use of the word.¹ He also speaks several times about *οἱ πονηροί* and compares them with *ἀγαθοί* / *δίκαιοι*. Whether these three data are related to each other in the way Mt presents them² deserves investigation.

The word *πονηρός* occurs 26/2/13 times in the Synoptics. Mt uses the word traditionally in Mt 5, 11 (Lk 6, 22); 6, 23 (Lk 11, 34: see also Mk 7, 22 and Mt 20, 15); 7, 11 (Lk 11, 13); 7, 17-18 (Lk 6, 43-45: see also Mt 12, 35); 12, 39 (Lk 11, 29); 12, 45 (Lk 11, 26); 15, 19 (Mk 7, 22.23); 25, 26 (Lk 19, 22). In all other texts the word is part of the material peculiar to the author. The word *πονηρία* occurs 1/1/1: Mt 22, 18, Mk 7, 22; Lk 11, 39. Mt inserts the word in an otherwise traditional text.

With the exception of Mt 5, 11 (?) and 7, 11, the word *πονηρός* is used as an adjective in all the texts where Mt borrows the word from his 'Vorlage': *πονηρὸς ὀφθαλμός*: 6, 23; 20, 15; *καρπός*: 7, 17.18; *ἄνθρωπος*: 12, 35; *θησαυρός*: 12, 35; *γενεά*: 12, 39, *πνεῦμα*: 12, 45; *διαλογισμοί*: 15, 19; *δοῦλος*: 25, 26 (with the latter also Mt 18, 32 is connected). This means that the typical use of the word in Mt is (mainly) confined to the 'Sondergut'. *πονηρός* is found as a qualification of the Jewish leaders in Mt 9, 4; 12, 34.39.45; 16, 4 and

¹ Apart from the question of whether this should be seen as masculine or neuter

² Baumbach, *Verständnis des Bosen*, deals with the texts with too little discrimination. He does not make any distinction between the traditional and the editorial use of the word. Each text is in his eyes of equal importance when the theology of a certain gospel-writer has to be described. 'Redaktionsgeschichte' has taught us that if possible a distinction should be made in the various layers of a gospel-text.

22, 18; *πονηροί* as a personal plural in Mt 5, 45; 13, 49; 22, 10 (7, 11 and 12, 34) and *πονηρός* as a substantive singular in Mt 5, 37-39; 6, 13; 13, 19, 38. These are the texts which will keep us occupied in what follows.

A. ΠΟΝΗΡΟΙ AS A QUALIFICATION OF THE JEWISH LEADERS

Mt 9, 4

Only Mt adds *πονηρά* and since he is inclined to call the scribes evil, as we will see, this word could be an editorial addition in this text. It is said of the scribes that they think 'evil', because they consider the forgiving of sins as a blasphemy, but actually do not realize that it is their duty to forgive sins.

Mt does not only know the power, but also the duty of the remission of sins. This can be gathered from the editorial character of both Mt 9, 8 and Mt 6, 14-15.¹ It is therefore not surprising that he has omitted in Mt 9, 3 the *τίς δύναται ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός* of Mk 2, 7. God forgives sins accordingly as man himself forgives sins. By omitting this theological motif it is not Mt's intention to make the *πονηρία* of the scribes even worse,² but he simply gives a different kind of theology. People should forgive one another's sins. The scribes do not understand this and they even avail themselves of this misunderstanding to accuse Jesus. This attitude is evil, for it blocks the way to what Jesus may have to tell us.

Mt 12, 33-35

Because of the parallel-tradition in Mt 7, 16-20 and Lk 6, 43-45 it is clear that Mt 12, 33-35 is not from Mt himself. Since this tradition has been continually used with different applications, it is not easy to give a formcritical analysis.³ The addition of *γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, πῶς δύνασθε ἀγαθὰ λαλεῖν πονηροὶ ὄντες*; in 12, 34a has inserted a strong note of anti-pharisaism.

This application of Mt 12, 33-35 to the Pharisees is secondary,⁴ as can be gathered from the fact that the 'Bildwort' about the

¹ For Mt 6, 14-15 see J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, I, 123, J. Jeremias, *Die Bergpredigt*, 22. For Mt 9, 8 see *in loco*.

² Thus Baumbach, *Verstandnis des Bosen*, 77.

³ Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 55-99, J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, I, 43-50, Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 93.

⁴ P. Fiebig, *Gleichnisreden*, 155, considers it impossible to decide what it should be, A. Julicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, II, 123 sees the anti-pharisaism as the original point.

treasures (Mt 12, 35) has lost its independence (in contrast with Mt 7, 16-20 and Lk 6, 43-45) and is now only used as an explanation of the logion about the two trees¹; this secondary value of the application to the Pharisees may also be gathered from the fact that the 'Bildwort' about the two trees now only applies to the words of the people in general.² From the addition of Mt 12, 34a it follows that this application is made by Mt himself. This can be inferred especially from the use of the concepts γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν (Mt 3, 7; 12, 34; 23, 33)³ and πονηρός. It is remarkable how often, precisely in our context, this adjective is applied in an anti-pharisaic sense, also because of the fact that logia which individually do not refer to the Pharisees, are now anti-pharisaic: Mt 12, 34.35.39.45.

Mt has added Mt 12, 33-35. Even if the stress is on the condemnation of those who say evil things, the possibility of speaking correctly is not excluded. One could, like the Pharisees did, condemn Jesus because one is evil oneself, but there are also good trees bearing good fruits. The choice does not lie between being a Pharisee or not being a Pharisee, but between being either evil or good. What Jesus says gradually becomes more general. The Pharisees are not taken as a historical group by Mt, but as types of evil: they represent the wrong choice.

The concept πονηρός is given content by the sentence πῶς δύνασθε ἀγαθὰ λαλεῖν. What the Pharisees have to say is not good and therefore they are bad. In the context the author holds forth against the attack of the Pharisees who say that Jesus casts out the demons only with the help of Beelzebub. They associate Jesus

¹ Jeremias, Gleichnisse, 93.

² Bultmann, Geschichte, 108.

³ The use of the term γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν in Mt 3, 7 is editorial, in as far as only Mt speaks about Pharisees and Sadducees, while Lk 3, 7 speaks of ὄχλοι. Mt does not use his preferential word ὄχλοι here and this is connected with the positive attitude he adopts towards these ὄχλοι: Jesus speaks to them and he sees them: 5, 1; 9, 36; 11, 7; 13, 34; 23, 1; they on the other hand listen to Jesus: 7, 28; 9, 8.33; 12, 23; 21, 11; 22, 33; they follow Jesus: 4, 25; 13, 2; 14, 13; 15, 30; 21, 9; and before they are sent away, they are fed with bread: 14, 15.19; 15, 36.39; even in the passion narrative they are not the ones who are blamed: 27, 20. Only 26, 55 sounds like a reproach (but see Mt 27, 15-26 and chapter 6). It seems to me that this tendency in its totality should be a correction on the thesis of Walker, Heilsgeschichte. That there are reasons to attribute the formula: οἱ φαρισαῖοι καὶ σαδδουκαῖοι to Mt himself, appears from the statistical material. The expression occurs 6/0/0; see Hunnig, Auseinandersetzung, 18-20; Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 11-16. For the redactional character of Mt 23, 33 see p. 64.

with the prince of the demons, but this shows that they themselves are πονηροί, who like the bad tree bring forth only bad fruit. They are a brood of vipers, malevolent and pernicious,¹ who speak out of the fullness of their hearts. Their πονηρία is revealed in their accusation that Jesus has made an agreement with the demon himself.

Mt 12, 38-42

In contrast with Mt 16, 1-4 Mt 12, 38-42 corresponds to Lk 11, 29-32 and it has therefore been derived from Q, but the formulation of Mt 12, 38-39 has almost certainly been influenced by Mt. This influence is to be gathered from the following terms and expressions: τότε; γραμματέων καὶ φαρισαίων (12/3/5); διδάσκαλε as a word of address for Jesus by those who are not his disciples (see Mt 8, 19); θέλω (42/24/28); ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (see Mt 22, 1). Moreover, there is the verbal similarity between Mt 12, 39 and Mt 16, 2a.4. How far this influence of Mt reaches, can of course no longer be traced. However, with Walker one might infer from these data² that for Mt οἱ φαρισαῖοι of Mt 12, 2.14.22 are the same as the τινὲς τῶν γραμματέων καὶ φαρισαίων of Mt 12, 38. Mt no longer distinguishes between the various groups. Through the formulation of γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς Mt has replaced the 'people' (Lk 11, 29; see also Mt 3, 7) by the scribes and the Pharisees as the typical enemies of the gospel.³

The content of the idea πονηρός is modified in this text by the addition of μοιχαλὶς which is already used traditionally in Mk 8, 38. The leaders of the people are in the same position now as the people at the time of the prophets were formerly. By their rejection of Jesus they demonstrate their unfaithfulness to God himself.⁴ One may not be able to prove that the formulation γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς is from Mt himself, but his contribution

¹ W Foerster, TWNT, s v ὄφεις and ἐχιδνα.

² Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 35-38.

³ Baumbach, Verstandnis des Bosen, 85. However, it is not all that evident whether one could say with Baumbach, Verstandnis des Bosen, 93.121 that Mt, by calling only the Pharisees and the scribes wicked, should have toned down the absolute dualism of Mk, which says that only God and his Son are good and that the whole of mankind is bad. Eventually in Mk too the Pharisees are identified with ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη: see Mk 8, 12. It may be true that the expression πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς is not used, it still means that in Mk there is also an influence at work which turns the adversaries into types.

⁴ F Hauck, TWNT, IV, 742, s v μοιχεύω

is to be found in the fact that he applied this formulation exclusively to the leaders of the people.

They are called evil and adulterous because they seek after a sign. No other sign will be given to them but the sign of Jonah. Thus far the idea of Mt can still be called traditional. In Mt 12, 40, however, a 'Sondertradition' comes to the fore, which demands a special investigation. The verse is at the centre of the discussion of the pericope.¹ As usual this means that there is a variety of answers. The verse is supposed to deal with the resurrection²; it is said to be the expression of a revelation to the Son of Man himself that God is able to deliver him from death³, it is supposed to be the proof from the Scriptures which connected the original logion about Iônah (pigeon) as the image of Israel (Mt 12, 39) with the logion about Jonah as the preacher of penitence (Mt 12, 41)⁴, it is said to offer a Christian parallel of the Jewish tradition about Jonah who was saved from death.⁵ These exegetic expositions are not as far apart from each other, as it might seem at first glance. Seidelin⁶ has shown to my mind that the real dispute is about the question as to whether the main point of the logion has to be looked for in the formulation *τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας* or in the formulation *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς* and *ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους*.

In the former case, the logion can easily be interpreted from the idea of the resurrection, in the latter case from the concept of death, but it is naturally not permitted to play off the one against the other. In any interpretation both expressions should be respected. This, however, means that one cannot simply say that the

¹ See Strecker, Weg, 102-106 140; Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 90; O Glombitza, Das Zeichen des Jona, Zum Verständnis von Matth 12, 38-42, NTS 8 (1961/62) 359-366, A Vogtle, Der Spruch vom Jonaszeichen, in 'Synoptische Studien', München, 1953, 230-277, J Howton, The Sign of Jonah, ScottJT 15 (1962) 288-304, P Seidelin, Das Jonaszeichen, StTh 5 (1952) 119-131, O Linton, The Demand for a Sign from Heaven (Mk 8, 11-12 and Parallels), StTh 19 (1965) 112-129, H Todt, Der Menschensohn, 194-197, A Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, 133-140, P Vielhauer, Jesus und der Menschensohn, Aufsätze zum NT, 111-113, F Borsch, Son of Man in Myth and History, 327-328, A Strobel, Kerygma und Apokalyptik, 58-72

² O Linton, Demand for a Sign, StTh 19 (1965) 119, A Vogtle, Der Spruch vom Jonaszeichen, in 'Synoptische Studien', 275, Strecker, Weg, 104

³ O Glombitza, Das Zeichen des Jona, NTS 8 (1961/62) 362

⁴ J Howton, The Sign of Jonah, ScottJT 15 (1962) 288-304

⁵ P Seidelin, Das Jonaszeichen, StTh 5 (1952) 128-131

⁶ P Seidelin, Das Jonaszeichen, StTh 5 (1952) 129

logion deals with the resurrection. It deals with the deliverance from a state of death which lasted for three days, from a real death. Nothing is said about how this deliverance takes place. This is actually a verdict about the formal argument of Tödt, that 'erst bei Markus die Ansagen vom Leiden/Auferstehen des Menschensohnes auftreten'¹ and that therefore the logion cannot deal with such questions.

In the first century after Christ Jonah was regarded as the prophet, who through a divine intervention was delivered from the abode of the dead. The belly of the monster has become the symbol of ruin, of destruction, of the bowels of the earth, of death itself. Beside the arguments put forward by Seidelin and Glombitza, one might also refer to TgJon 2, where the מַעִיא of the monster is described as מַאֲרַעִית תְּהוֹמָא the earthly part of the tehom (verse 3); בְּעוֹמְקָא בְּלִבָּא דִּימָא: (in) the depths, (in) the heart of the sea (verse 4); לְעַקְרֵי טוּרֵיָא: (to) the roots of the mountains (verse 7); חֲבֵלָא חַי: the downfall of life (verse 7). Also important is TgNeof Dt 30, 13, where the מִי יַעֲבֹר לֵנוּ אֶל עֵבֶר הַיָּם of the MT is interpreted as 'if only we had someone like the prophet Jonah, who would descend into the depths of the great sea and bring it (= the Torah) to the surface for us'.² Mt 12, 40 is a first reflection on the deliverance of Jesus from death. The fact that this deliverance is not given any further concrete form in the concept of 'resurrection' shows that we are dealing with a primitive logion.

This is the point where one must attempt to reach a judgement about the editorial character of the verse. Here too all possible views are represented: the verse is post-editorial³; editorial⁴; traditional.⁵ Since the logion shows an indistinct concept of the

¹ H. Tödt, *Der Menschensohn*, 195.

² The text of this targum is to be found in M. McNamara, *New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, 70-78. He expressly enters into the details of the function and meaning of TgNeof Dt 30. From the parallel with Rom 10, 6-8 it follows that this passage in the targum dates back to the first century; see also S. Lyonnet, *Saint Paul et l'Exégèse juive de son temps*, A Propos de Rom 10, 6-8, in 'Mélanges Bibliques', Paris, 1957, 494-506; and R. le Déaut, *Liturgie juive et Nouveau Testament*, Roma, 1965, 45.

³ Stendahl, *School of Matthew*, 132-133.

⁴ Strecker, *Weg*, 104. He goes expressly against the theory of K. Stendahl; A. Vögtle, *Spruch vom Jonaszeichen*, in 'Synoptische Studien', 263; P. Seidelin, *Das Jonaszeichen*, *StTh* 5 (1952) 129; C. Colpe, *TWNT*, VIII, 462, s.v. ὑλὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

⁵ J. Howton, *Sign of Jonah*, *Scott JT* 15 (1962) 303; O. Linton, *Demand*

resurrection, one cannot date it too late. Therefore, to my mind the point of view taken by Jeremias, Linton, Howton and others seems to be the most probable, when they call the verse traditional. Since Lk has a similar logion at the same place,¹ there is no reason either for attributing the placing of Mt 12, 40 to Mt himself. In the course of the tradition Mt 12, 40 has already been connected with what preceded. The same traditional addition may also be responsible for the addition of τοῦ προφήτου in Mt 12, 39 (also for the interchange of Mt 12, 41 and 42?, see Lk 11, 31-32), because this alteration can best be explained from the point of the significance and the function of Mt 12, 40.

The editorial changes on Mt 12, 38-42 are therefore restricted directly to Mt 12, 38-39, but because the word γενεά will be used further on in the pericope too, a peculiar sort of judgment develops. The scribes and the Pharisees may address Jesus as διδάσκαλε, but actually they reject him. They are not converted after the κήρυγμα of the greater Jonah and they refuse to listen to the σοφία of the greater Solomon. The sign that he gives them will lead to their condemnation. The particular character of Mt 12, 38-42 is to be found in the fact that an undertone of κατάκρισις and κρίσις is found in the accusation of the πονηρία.

Mt 12, 43-45

The difference between Mt 12, 43-45 and Lk 11, 24-26 is restricted to Mt 12, 45c. This closing sentence has presumably been made by Mt himself: γενεὰ πονηρά links up with Mt 12, 39.41.42 and the οὕτως (ἐσται) is typically Matthean.² The sentence applies the parable to the leaders of the people, for the γενεὰ πονηρά of Mt 12, 45 certainly refers to those people who have been addressed in Mt 12, 39.³ It is difficult to trace how Mt thinks that this should be applied. Fridrichsen⁴ thinks he has discovered in the parable a

for a Sign, StTh 19 (1965) 119; J. Jeremias, Die älteste Schicht der Menschensohn-Logien, ZNW 58 (1967) 168; Gleichnisse, 186, note 2.

¹ 'similar' does not mean 'the same'. Differences between Mt 12, 40 and Lk 11, 30 can be pointed out, but the fact that both gospels have a logion that makes a connection between Jonah and the Son of Man makes it clear, at least to me, that previous to Mt 12, 40 and Lk 11, 30 (i.e., in Q) there must have been a logion present.

² See Jeremias, Gleichnisse, 82, note 11.

³ Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 36.

⁴ A. Fridrichsen, Le problème du miracle, Paris, 1925, 75.

trace of the early-Christian controversy about the greater value of Jesus. Jesus obtained lasting successes with his exorcisms, while the successes of the other exorcists were only temporary. Mt 12, 45c should be interpreted against this background. Grundmann¹ sees in Mt 12, 45c only a warning against going back to a time when the message of Jesus did not yet exist. Baumbach² wishes to interpret the text from within the church. Mt wishes to warn those who refuse to fulfil what is most decisive: the fulfilling of the will of God. Strecker³ turns the text into an allegory. He distinguishes two periods: one in the course of which the demon has been driven away, and another during which he returns together with his seven companions. Mt is supposed to say that the Jewish people has the opportunity of being converted while Jesus lives among them and when they reject the sign of the resurrection they at the same time decide what the eventual verdict against themselves will be.⁴

In any case Mt wishes to say that this generation is without any hope of redemption and that the situation in which they will live in the future will be worse than ever before. Wickedness is not a neutral concept, which can or cannot be used. If someone has to be called wicked, this means at the same time that he has been condemned.

Mt 16, 1-4

In comparison with Mt 12, 38-42 little new is added by Mt 16, 1-4. The contents of Mt 16, 1.2a correspond to that of Mt 12, 38-39, but on the literary level a direct influence from Mk 8, 11-13 is demonstrable here. A trace of this tradition is also found in Lk 11, 16. The adversaries do not speak and also the concepts of πειράζοντες and ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ have been borrowed from Mk 8, 11. Like Mt 12, 38-39 Mt 16, 1-2a.4 has been influenced by the edition of Mt. This can be gathered from the word προσέρχομαι (52/5/10) and the sentences Mt 16, 2a and 4 which are identical to Mt 12, 39. From this it might also be inferred that the expression οἱ φαρισαῖοι

¹ Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 335.

² Baumbach, *Verständnis des Bösen*, 88.

³ Strecker, *Weg*, 105-106.

⁴ To my mind such an exegesis heavily over-interprets the text, apart from the difficulty that an explanation has also to be found for the first period when man was possessed by the unclean spirit.

καὶ σαδδουκαῖοι has been made into the subject of the sentence by Mt. In doing so he establishes an inner connection with the next pericope Mt 12, 5-12. The combination of characters in any case demonstrates the fact that in Mt's time there was hardly any notion left about the historical relationships such as they must have been at the time of Jesus' life, and likewise that Mt and his contemporaries no longer made any distinction between the Pharisees, the scribes and the Sadducees.¹

In the pericope Mt 16, 1-4 the addition of Mt 16, 2b-3 is something new. Since there is a text-critical dispute about the insertion,² one must be careful in drawing any conclusions about the editorial character. It is a tradition which runs parallel with Lk 12, 54-56. The actual difference is found in the expression τὰ σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν, while Lk 12, 56 speaks of ὁ καιρὸς οὗτος.³ Mt deals with several signs which take place at several times, which means that the logion in Mt has preserved more clearly the traces of the apocalyptic wisdom literature than Lk 12, 54-56.⁴ The 'Sitz im Leben' of the logion has to be looked for within this genre. The best parallel text in the O.T. is found in Wisdom 8, 8: ἐπίσταται στροφὰς λόγων καὶ λύσεις αἰνιγμάτων, σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα προγινώσκει καὶ ἐκβάσεις καιρῶν καὶ χρόνων. Wisdom 8, 8 is a saying which establishes the transition from the wisdomgenre to the apocalyptic genre. The ends of time will be revealed in signs and miracles. This supposes the existence of multiple καιροί and χρόνοι. A similar concept is also found in Mt 16, 3.

Time has been divided into καιροί which will be announced in each individual case by a σημεῖον or by σημεῖα. The plural τὰ σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν shows that the σημεῖον for this generation will not be

¹ See Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 11-16; Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 18-20; Kilpatrick, Origins, 120; Strecker, Weg, 140; C. F. D. Moule, St. Matthew's Gospel, Some Neglected Features, in 'Studia Evangelica', II, Berlin, 1964, 97. A very remarkable suggestion comes from H. M. Gale, A Suggestion concerning Matthew 16, JBL 60 (1941) 255-260. According to him Mt 16, 4 should be connected with Mt 16, 17 (Simōn Bar Iōna). As far as I know this suggestion has not been followed in later studies.

² The text is lacking in A B X f¹³ 1216 syr^{c,s} cop^{sa,bo} (mss) arm Origen mss^{acc} to Jerome. See also K. H. Rengstorff, TWNT, VII, 227, note 208, s.v. σημεῖον.

³ J. Gnlika, Die Verstockung Israels, München, 1961, 99.

⁴ Concerning this joining of the apocalyptic and wisdom literature, see J. P. M. Sweet, The Theory of Miracles in the Wisdom of Solomon, in 'Miracles in their Philosophy and History', Cambridge Studies, 1966/2, 115-126.

the last sign. The inability of the listeners to understand the signs, reveals their guilt and condemnation.¹

Has Mt linked this logion with that about the σημεῖον Ἰωανᾶ? It is not completely out of the question. It is a remarkable fact that in the present connection a judgment has arisen against the leaders of the people. This is in contrast with Lk 12, 54 which speaks against the ὄχλοι, while in Mt the ὄχλοι are never qualified in such a negative way. On the other hand one can say that the phenomenon of 'Stichworte'-connection (οὐρανός in Mt 16, 1.2.3.3 and σημεῖον in 16, 3.4.4) is so general that the combination of the two logia could have happened at any moment in the tradition; it could even have happened post-editorially.

On account of all this there is little sense in taking many data from Mt 16, 1-4. The actual text adds little to what we already know. The Pharisees and the Sadducees are an evil and adulterous generation which demands a sign from Jesus. From their lips this demand is a πειράζω, a putting to the test; it is not an attitude of willingness and acceptance.²

Mt 22, 18

As we saw in the previous chapter, Mt has replaced the expression αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν from Mk 12, 15 with the Matthean ὑποκριτής (ὑπόκρισις 1/1/1; ὑποκριτής 13/1/3). At the same time Mt adds the word πονηρία. This seems to be a correct 'translation' of the concept ὑπόκρισις as it is used in Mk 12, 15. One should understand this in light of the O.T. meaning of 'falling away from the Law', given the terms ἀληθής, οὐ βλέπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων, ἀλήθεια, ἡ ὁδός τοῦ θεοῦ (Mk 12, 14), πειράζω (12, 15) that all function in the Torah theology. In Mt this is elaborated christologically.

The disciples of the Pharisees and the Herodians come to Jesus with evil intentions. Jesus, however, knows this: he knows what

¹ Since these ideas about the καιρός fit so well the use of the word elsewhere in Mt (see Strecker, Weg, 86-89), it seems to me not out of the question that Mt himself is responsible for the change of the Luke formulation ὁ καιρός οὗτος into τὰ σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν, or at least that the later interpolator knew how to follow Mt's theory closely.

² X. Léon-Dufour, Vers l'annonce de l'Église, in 'L'Homme devant Dieu', Mélanges de H. de Lubac, Aubier, 1963, 46-47 has shown that the verb καταλείπω is used in Mt only for an activity of Jesus (Mt 4, 13; 16, 4, 21, 17). Together with the use of the verb ἀπέρχομαι (35/23/19) this would point to the fact that at least the end of Mt 16, 4 is from Mt himself.

they think and right from the beginning he addresses them as ὑποκριταί. The testing of Jesus is something evil, for it reveals, that they are not at all willing to listen to Jesus. The only thing they want is to find an opportunity to trap him. They are on the hunt for Jesus (22, 15). The wickedness of the Jewish leaders is the summary and the qualification of their attitude towards Jesus. Whoever rejects Jesus or who slanders him or puts him to test is evil.

Summary

The idea of πονηρός is applied several times to the leaders of the Jewish people in Mt. This does not mean that Mt has been so consistent in his activities. He adds the word whenever they say that Jesus commits blasphemy or that he is possessed by the devil (Mt 9, 4; 12, 34). However, he does not do so in Mt 9, 32 and 26, 65. In Mt 16, 1 and 22, 18 their πονηρία is connected with πειράζω, but this is not done in Mt 19, 3 nor in 22, 35. In Mt 12, 39.45 and 16, 1 the expression γενεὰ πονηρά is applied to the authorities, but the question might be asked why Mt passed over Mt 11, 16 and 17, 17. All this shows that we should not look for a conscious theology behind the actual changes in the text. It is an expression of a mind convinced of its own correctness without any further reflection. In the eyes of Mt the πονηρία of the Jewish leaders is not a thesis which has to be proved, but it is a pre-supposition underlying all his thoughts.

As far as the content is concerned the accusation of the πονηρία is always related to the attitude of the Jewish leaders towards Jesus. They do not accept him as a healer, nor as an exorcist, nor as a teacher and therefore they are called wicked. In this context Mt 22, 18 is important. Jesus knows their wickedness which tempts them to ask a question under the cover of being really interested, but a question which must lead to his death. In all the texts a mentality comes to the fore, which is a-Judaic and a-Hellenistic. The attitude towards Jesus reveals whether someone is good or bad. The threat does not grow less because of it. Whosoever refuses to listen to the kerygma and the sophia of Jesus, will be condemned. He will fare like the man who, after being delivered from the unclean spirit, will be possessed by seven spirits who are even worse.

Actually we are getting ahead of the observations that are still

to be made. If one reads the texts as they stand, one could at most speak of an historifying interest on the part of Mt. He presents the historical leaders of the Jewish people as wicked persons who will not escape their condemnation. The question has still to be answered whether Mt saw the Jewish authority as the prototype of the evil man. This can become clear only when there is a real connection in the presentation of Mt between the use of the word *πονηρός* as a qualification of the Jewish leaders, *πονηρός* as a generic concept and *πονηροί* as a collective noun.

If in the presentation of Mt the Jewish leaders are wicked, because they are in constant touch as wicked people with sheer wickedness (the Evil One or evil), one can say that according to Mt the Jewish leader is the prototype of the wicked man. Mt then does not confine himself to a historical judgment about a historical group, of which he could not have any concrete idea. His point of departure, that the Jewish authority was bad, is then at the service of the actualisation of his community.

B. ΠΟΝΗΡΟΙ AS A COLLECTIVE NOUN

Mt uses the word *πονηροί* several times in a personal meaning: the comprehensive name for those who are evil. He concurs with Lk in Mt 5, 45 and 7, 11 but beside these texts he also uses it in Mt 12, 34; 13, 49 and 22, 10. It is remarkable that he is the only gospelwriter who also uses the word *αγαθοί* as a collective noun: Mt 5, 45 and 22, 10. A brief discussion of these texts will show the connection between them and the theme of the *πονηρία* of the Jewish leaders.

Mt 5, 45

The precise editorial influence of Mt in this verse is hard to define. Actually Lk 6, 35 which only mentions the *ἀχάριστοι* and *πονηροί*, fits better this context about the love of one's enemy.¹ The mention of the *αγαθοί* and *δίκαιοι* in Mt 5, 45 is to make clear that God does not distinguish to whom he gives. Precisely this concept is also found in the Judaic literature²: 'the rain is for the righteous and the godless'; 'the divine shekina gives satisfaction to all, not only to the wise and the righteous ones, but also to the godless ones, who serve the idols.' From these parallels, however,

¹ Baumbach, *Verstandnis des Bosen*, 72.

² Str-B, I, 374 377 Taan 7a, Mekh Ex 18, 12 (67a)

it does not follow that Mt 5, 45 has to be called traditional in its entirety. For the very reason that the formulation in respect of the two groups shows significant differences in the Jewish texts and in Mt, it cannot be excluded that the expression ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς is from Mt himself. Mankind is divided into two groups: the just and the godless according to the Jewish text, i.e., into Jews and pagans; according to Mt into good and evil ones, without making any decision about who is good and who is evil. The good ones are righteous; the evil ones are not righteous. One either belongs to either one group or to the other group; there is no alternative in between the two.

Mt 7, 11

This text cannot be used in order to reconstruct Mt's own concepts, for from the point of view of Lk 11, 13 it is a traditional verse. The only difference between the two parallel verses concerns the gift granted by the heavenly father to those who ask for it: ἀγαθὰ in Mt 7, 11 and πνεῦμα ἅγιον in Lk 11, 13. Because Lk shows a preference for this word (5/4/13), because he presents the gift of the Holy Ghost several times as the direct outcome of prayer and because the structure of the text in Lk 11, 11-13 improves through the change (the object and the subject are always different: 'you—the heavenly father; good gifts—the Holy Ghost'), this alteration should be attributed to Lk himself.¹ We need not discuss the question as to whether the logion was originally a 'Kampfwort' against the adversaries of Jesus,² for in the present text both in Mt and in Lk it is a saying directed to the disciples (Mt 5, 1; Lk 11, 1). One cannot therefore join Baumbach in his conclusion that 'Matthäus damit (= verse 11 with his application to the disciples) deutlich macht, dass es auch innerhalb der Gemeinde 'Böse' gibt'.³ The fact that the logion is applied to the disciples both in Mt and

¹ W. Ott, *Gebet und Heil*, 108; A. Hamman, *La prière*, I, Nouveau Testament, Tournai, 1958, 141; see also Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 144.

² Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 143-144 and its criticism in J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, I, 70-71. The application to all mankind in opposition to God who alone is good, seems to me to be the most original contribution; see the theology of Mk 10, 18; see also G. Harder, *TWNT*, VI, 554, s.v. πονηρός.

³ The theory of G. Baumbach, *Verständnis des Bösen*, 80 does not hold good either, because his conclusion should be that the disciples as such are wicked. The text does not mention in any way such a group within the whole, nor does it mention any particular part within the whole.

in Lk, indicates that this secondary application is not from Mt himself. One should therefore not draw any conclusions from it either about the ideas Mt himself may have had. This negative outcome moreover corresponds with the remainder of the Mt-gospel, in which such a concept is absent.

Mt 13, 49

Since the exposition of Jeremias about Mt 13, 37-43.49-50,¹ it has been almost always accepted that this allegorical explanation is from Mt himself. Strecker, however,² has shown that in Mt 13, 37-43 a pre-Matthean tradition should be assumed in spite of the typically Matthean terminology.³ If this holds good for Mt 13, 37-43, it is relevant to the judgment of Mt 13, 49-50 as well. Since in Mt 13, 40-43 a relationship can be assumed between κάμινος τοῦ πυρός and τὰ ζιζάνια, and since because of this Mt 13, 40-43 more closely joins the preceding parable, Mt 13, 50 has been derived in its entirety from Mt 13, 40-43. The same must hold therefore for οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος. Mt 13, 49a comes from Mt 13, 40 and the only new element in the explanation of the parable (Mt 13, 49b) is directly linked with Mt 25, 32: καὶ ἀφορίσει αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ὥσπερ ὁ ποιμὴν ἀφορίζει τὰ πρόβατα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίφων.⁴ The material in Mt 13, 47-48 is completely traditional, but still it does not seem to be wholly improbable that Mt himself has added the eschatological explanation in Mt 13, 49-50, for the similarity with the typically Matthean terminology remains.⁵ Therefore, despite the traditional data, the verses 13, 49-50 may still be used to give clearer contours to the theology proper to Mt.

Mt 13, 49-50 describes the eschatological judgment. The wicked

¹ Jeremias, Gleichnisse, 79-84.

² Strecker, Weg, 160-162, see especially note 2.

³ In his last article, Die älteste Schicht der Menschensohn-Logien, ZNW 58 (1967) 167 J. Jeremias joins the criticism of Strecker, Mt 13, 37-39 and certainly Mt 13, 41 show clearly that Mt uses older material.

⁴ For the rest there is this typical difference that in Mt 13, 49 the angels make the separation and that in Mt 25, 32 the Son of Man does this. This 'Unausgeglichenheit' is connected with the parable in Mt 13, 47-48 and Mt 25, 31 ff. The ἀποστελεῖ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ in Mt 13, 41 still makes Mt 13, 49b sound unexpected, but this may be due to the particular character of the parable in Mt 13, 47-48.

⁵ See Jeremias, Gleichnisse, 83, who refers to οὕτως ἔσται, ἡ συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἀφορίζω, οἱ δίκαιοι, ἡ κάμινος τοῦ πυρός, ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.

will be separated from the just. The one-sided stress on the punishment of the wicked shows in its own particular way that Mt does not wish to allow any illusions about justice and injustice. If one belongs to οἱ πονηροί, one will be unable to escape the judgment. In the context in which we now discuss this text, it is pertinent to ask, whether with his allegorical application of the parable Mt wishes to exert pressure on the existing evil within the Christian community,¹ or whether he has in mind both the wicked and the good standing together in the whole world-cosmos.² The latter, it seems to me, is the most probable explanation. This can be gathered not only from the fact that there is such a great similarity between Mt 13, 37-43 and Mt 13, 49-50 through which the 'fishing-net' is given the function of the 'field', in other words the function of the κόσμος (see Mt 13, 38),³ but also from the use of the verb ἀφορίζω which refers to Mt 25, 32 where πάντα τὰ ἔθνη are separated. The parable Mt 13, 47-48 is connected with the Christian mission, but Mt does not think in strictly church-institutional terms: good and evil divide the whole world. In this respect Mt 13, 49 completely corresponds with Mt 5, 45.

Mt 22, 10

The editorial character of this verse ⁴ shows in its own way once again what we have just said. The wicked and the good are found on the roads. All the people whom the servants come across are gathered together for the wedding. The boundary is set only through what the servants themselves do. Here too the idea of mission plays its part, but at the same time we see again that no strict boundaries are set. The world itself is divided into good and bad and therefore the same will hold good as far as the wedding-guests are concerned.

Summary

Mt qualifies the leaders only of the Jewish people as wicked. Via Mt 12, 34 Mt's theory about good and wicked people is linked

¹ E. Grasser, *Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung*, 147; T. Manson, *Sayings of Jesus*, 197-198; Baumbach, *Verstandnis des Bosen*, 64, J. Kingsbury, *The Parables of Jesus in Matthew* 13, 121-123.

² Strecker, *Weg*, 218-219; Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 229.

³ Strecker, *Weg*, 219.

⁴ See in loco p. 62.

with that about the wicked Jewish figures of authority. They give concrete form to that grouping of mankind, which at the time of the judgment will be separated from the just. Mt 12, 35 in which the traditional logion explicitly speaks about the evil man as about the evil ἄνθρωπος, is illustrative. When Mt speaks of a generation of vipers he quotes the saying about the man who can be good or wicked. The Jewish leaders belong to the evil part of mankind.

However, they do not coincide, for in the cosmos too, evil people are found. By joining the Christian community one does not become good, for being good or being bad precedes being a Christian. The acceptance of Jesus does not guarantee one's goodness. Therefore the Jewish leaders give concrete form to one possibility only. If one rejects Jesus, one reveals in any case one's own wickedness. Mt takes the line that there is more wickedness than can be demonstrated by him. By calling the Jewish leaders evil he wishes to make clear to us that the rejection of Jesus reveals a person's *πονηρία*.

C. Πονηρός AS A GENERIC CONCEPT

Mt is the only one of the Synoptics who uses the word ὁ (τὸ) *πονηρός* (-όν) several times as a collective noun for everything that is evil: the evil one or the evil.¹ This absolute use of the word is found in Mt 5, 37.39; 6, 13; 13, 19 and 13, 38. Since Mt 5, 37.39 and 6, 13 do not contain any new data with regard to our context, we will confine ourselves to a discussion of Mt 13, 19 and 13, 38.

Mt 13, 19

The fact that in Mt 13, 19 no use is made of the stereotype introduction: ὁ δὲ . . . *σπαρείς*, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ . . . (13, 20.22.23) does not lend any greater strength to the argumentation for the editorial character of the verse. In Mt 13, 19 the formula is turned round, it is placed at the end of the sentence and *τῆς βασιλείας* is added to τὸν λόγον. Nevertheless the division into four groups of people is more pronounced in Mt 13, 18-23 than in the other Synoptics. This points in any case in the direction of a secondary redaction. Since in the addition *μὴ συνιέντος* the influence of Mt can be surmised (see the addition *συνιείς*) it is not out of the

¹ In Lk only in Lk 6, 45.

question that Mt himself has also changed the δ σατανᾶς of Mk 4, 15 into δ πονηρός.¹

The argumentation would be more convincing, if it could be shown that there is a connection between the two alterations. Is it all that impossible that Mt, thinking of the πονηροὶ ὄντες of Mt 12, 34, changed the δ σατανᾶς into δ πονηρός? After all, who are they who listen but still do not understand? According to the context a distinction is made between those who hear and do not understand (verse 19); those who hear and accept (verse 20); those who hear and do not bear any fruit (verse 22); and those who hear and understand (verse 23).² Only the fourth group is a clearly demonstrable entity: they are the disciples of Jesus who have alone been given the gift of understanding,³ which has made them bear fruit. Diametrically opposed to them we find the first group: they are the non-disciples of Jesus. From the parallel with the second group it follows that they do not even accept the word.

Is it not obvious therefore to think of the group of the Jewish leaders? It must be admitted that only Mt 15, 16 speaks about them as ἀσύνετοι and that is a text which is traditional for Mt. However, they are so often said to listen without understanding: Mt 12, 24.42; 15, 12; 21, 15, 22, 22 and 22, 34. In contrast to the disciples, they failed to understand that Eliah had already come (Mt 17, 12.13). They failed to see the meaning of the fact that mercy is required and not a sacrifice (12, 7) and although they think they are able to judge and discern the heavens, they still fail to discern the signs of the times (16, 3). To my mind there is a great probability that Mt in his παντὸς ἀκούοντος τὸν λόγον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ συνιέντος has thought of the Jewish leaders as the prototype of everybody who refuses to accept the good tidings of the Kingdom. He thought in concrete terms of those people who in his opinion represented the πονηρία. At the origin of wickedness we find the Evil One. Instead of the familiar terms

¹ The use of the word ἀρπάζω (3/0/0) could be some indication of a Matthean redaction. See J. Kingsbury, *The Parables of Jesus in Matthew* 13, 56, although I do not agree with his interpretation of πονηρός as 'lawless'.

² See Baumbach, *Verstandnis des Bosen*, 57. For the rest I do not subscribe to his opinion that from the opposition between 'not understanding' (13, 19) and 'receiving' (13, 20) the conclusion should be drawn that to receive has the meaning of to understand. The second group does not yet understand. Understanding comes first with the fourth group.

³ Barth, *Gesetzesverständnis*, 99-104, J. Dupont, *Marriage et Divorce*, 175-190.

σατανᾶς or διάβολος which had been passed on to him by the tradition, he wrote ὁ πονηρός: the cause of the fact that the word of the Kingdom sometimes failed to achieve its purpose.

Mt 13, 38

Similarly as in Mt 13, 49, the question in Mt 13, 38 is whether Mt speaks about the church as a 'corpus mixtum' or about the world which contains good and bad people alike.¹ If it is true, however, that the 'lexicon' of allegorical concepts of Mt 13, 37-39² should not be related immediately to the description of the eschatological judgment in Mt 13, 40-43,³ the answer is obvious. In the cosmos the sons of the kingdom and the sons of the Evil One are found side by side. The good has been sown by the Son of Man and the evil has been sown by the devil. The suggestion we made for Mt 13, 19 about the ἀκούων καὶ μὴ συνιείς, is mentioned in as many words in Mt 13, 37-39: the devil is found at the origin of evil.

The question remains unanswered, however, as to whether the expression οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ should be interpreted personally or neutrally; in other words, whether it must be translated as 'the sons of the evil one' or the 'sons of evil', even if the former translation, to my mind, is the most probable one.⁴ The expression does not wish to convey anything else but οἱ πονηροί, but it shows clearly in one way or other the main concern we had in mind. The wicked have an intimate relationship with him who is evil. The enemy of the Son of Man is the devil himself.⁵

¹ That Mt refers to the church as a corpus mixtum is defended by Baumbach, *Verstandnis des Bosen*, 59-64, Klostermann, *Matthäusevangelium*, 123; Holtzmann, *Handcommentar*, 250, Schmid, *Evangelium*, 225, Bornkamm, *Enderwartung*, 40, Trilling, *Wahre Israel*, 126. That Mt has in mind the whole cosmos which does not co-incide with the church, is defended by Strecker, *Weg*, 218, Vogtle, *Das christologische und ekklesiologische Anliegen von Mt 28, 18-20*, in 'Studia Evang', Berlin, 1964, II, 287-292; Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 99-101, Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 224, Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 350, J. Kingsbury, *The Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13*, 97.

² The expression is from Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 78-88.

³ See especially Trilling, *Wahre Israel*, 124-126, who gives the whole argumentation.

⁴ For an exposition of both points of view, see G. Harder, *TWNT*, VI, 560, s.v. πονηρός. The opinion of G. Harder does not take full into account what is described by Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 82, note 6: nowhere else בן, בן, υἱός, τέκνον are used with the genitive of a substantivized adjective neutral.

⁵ Concerning the editorial character of the verse see Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 79-83 and Strecker, *Weg*, 160, note 2. Mt 13, 38 has the specific Matthean concepts: κόσμος (9/2/3) and υἱοὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ, see Mt 13, 19.

Summary

What can be said about the relationship between the leaders of the Jewish people and ὁ πονηρός? Mt indicates an implicit connection only in Mt 13, 19. The text material, however, may suggest more. Or is it without significance that in Mt 12, 34 the ἀγαθὸν λαλεῖν, which reveals their πονηρία, refers to the judgment of the Pharisees that Jesus casts out the demons only with the help of Beelzebub? One wonders what might be the meaning of Mt 12, 45. This generation will be possessed by seven spirits who will be even worse than the first unclean spirit who used to live in them. The generation of vipers will not be able to escape Gehenna. Harder makes the remark,¹ that the real opposition in Mt 13, 37 ought to have been υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας over against υἱοὶ τῆς γενένης, a term used in Mt 23, 15 to indicate the scribes and the Pharisees.

One cannot go much further than questions or suggestions. Mt 13, 19 and 13, 39 make clear that in the line of thoughts of Mt there is a certain relationship among the wicked, the evil Jewish leaders and the Evil One. This wickedness does not come from man, but from the Evil One himself. One should put up a resistance against the latter (Mt 5, 39) or one should be delivered from him (Mt 6, 13).

Whenever the wickedness of man manifests itself, the work of the devil is revealed. In concrete terms this means for Mt that in the rejection of Jesus and his message, such as it took form in the scribes and the Pharisees, the great adversary of the Son of Man had emerged. The actual character of the name he gave to the Jewish authorities expressed the possibility of the actual rejection.

¹ G. Harder, TWNT, VI, s.v. πονηρός.

ΦΟΝΕΙΣ

Mt is the only gospel-writer among the Synoptics who calls the Jewish leaders φονεῖς and υἱοὶ τῶν φονευσάντων (Mt 22, 7; 23, 31.35). The murders they have on their conscience will cost them dearly, for the blood of the victims will come back to them. Mt connects the theme of the φόνος with that of the revenging αἷμα in Mt 23, 29-36. In two important pericopes of the Mt-gospel: Mt 21, 28-22, 14 and Mt 23, 29-39 Mt expounds in his own way how he sees the cause and the effect of the definitive rejection of Israel.

In doing this he takes up a concept which has been alive in Judaism traditionally since Neh 9, 26. In his comprehensive study 'Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten' O. Steck has shown convincingly that in the O.T., in late-Palestinian Judaism, in the early Christian and in the rabbinic tradition the concept is found that Israel has killed its prophets. This verdict, which of course should not be given a biographical interpretation, can only be understood against the background of a more comprehensive concept of history. Israel has always shown itself to be disobedient; it has remained obstinate in spite of the fact that God has shown his patience and has continually warned Israel through his prophets. Thus it has called down upon itself the revenging judgment of God. The general judgment about the killing of the prophets is intended to express the permanent disobedience of Israel.

In the course of time the concrete form of this Judgment of God could differ. At first it was the down-fall of Samaria and Juda, but in the late-Judaic writings more recent events, such as the persecution under Antiochus IV, the defeat and the desecration of the temple under Pompey and the ruination of the country under Titus are seen as actualizations of this judgment. Till late in the Talmudic era Judaism sees its own history as under the curse of disobedience. Israel, however, also realizes that it can always repent, whenever it shows contrition: then God will keep his promises, gather Israel together again and punish its enemies. In the later writings (especially since the Syrian persecutions: in Macc., Test. XII Patr., Hen., Jub., Bar., PsSal., Ass.Mois., LAB,

4 Esr., Apoc. Bar.) this concept that repentance is possible undergoes a modification: there is an eschatological line of thinking which says that repentance has become possible now at this moment, which is seen as the period preceding the Eschaton; moreover, there is also a distinction made with Israel between the righteous and the sinners, the latter being those who refuse to repent and who will therefore be definitively rejected.¹

Mt follows this complex line of thoughts in the texts we mentioned, but he does so in his own particular way. In order to understand him well it is necessary, however, that we first study these texts and investigate their 'redaktionsgeschichtliche' value, for there are many differences of opinion on this point. Not until this has been done can it be shown how Mt fits into the entirety of the tradition.

A. MT 21, 28-22, 14

This text is a collection of three successive parables. The placing of Mt 21, 33-46 corresponds to the traditional scheme of Mk 11-12. The parallel tradition of Mt 22, 1-14, however, is found in Lk 14, 15-24 where the context is determined by the typical Lucan scene of Jesus eating with the Pharisees.² Mt 21, 28-32 is Matthean 'Sondergut'.

The specific unity found in the pericope of Mt is produced not only by the formal similarity in the literary genre, but even more so by the unifying visions which come to the fore in these parables. This remark has already been made often about Mt 21, 33-46 and Mt 22, 1-14, but *ceteris paribus* it is also true of Mt 21, 28-32 in relation to the two other parables. The usage, which has been extremely synchronized, is the clearest indication that an editor has been at work here.³

¹ See O Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten*, 63 193-195 218-222 317-320

² Only Lk knows this datum about Jesus eating with the Pharisees; see Lk 7, 36; 11, 37 and 14, 1. It repeatedly offers him an opportunity for making an anti-Pharisaic speech Lk 7, 37-50; 11, 38-54, 14, 2-24

³ As a demonstration we will add a list of words and expressions which are used in at least two parables at the same time

ἄνθρωπος	21, 28	21, 33	22, 2	ἄνθρωπος βασιλεύς
πρῶτος	21, 28 31	21, 36		
ἀμπελῶν	21, 28	21, 33 39 40 41		
οὐ θέλω	21, 29		22, 3	
ὕστερον	21, 29 32	21, 37		

In accordance with the general tendency of what happens when traditions are joined, the words ἄνθρωπος (21, 28-21, 33), ἀμπελών (21, 28-21, 33.39.40.41) and κύριος (21, 30-21, 40.42) can be indicated as 'Stichworte'. Thus it is shown how Mt 21, 28-32 could be found with Mt 21, 33-46. The same can probably not be said of the term βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ (21, 32-21, 43), which is very strange for Mt. It seems to be more probable that the term used in Mt 21, 43 is used as an adaptation to Mt 21, 31. We will return to this verse below.

There is also a clear connection between Mt 21, 28-32 and 22, 1-14. The refusal to come of those who have been invited (22, 3) and the fact that they do not even repent after they have been invited a second time (22, 5) gets special stress from the preceding parable about the son, who first refused to obey, but later on repents (21, 28-31). The invited ones who leave and go to their farms and business are in flagrant contrast with the son who eventually does the will of his father.

The resemblance between Mt 21, 33-46 and Mt 22, 1-14 is obvious.¹ In both parables servants are sent twice. Remarkably,

μεταμέλω	21, 29.32		22, 5	ἀμελέω
ἀπέρχομαι	21, 29.30		22, 5	εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν; ἐπὶ
	21, 29.30		22, 5	ἐμπορίαν
ὠσαύτως	21, 30	21, 36		
κύριος	21, 30	21, 40.42		
τίς . . . ἐποίησεν	21, 31	21, 40 τί ποιήσῃ		
ποιέω τὸ θέλημα	21, 31			
τοῦ πατρὸς		21, 43 ἔθνη ποιοῦντι τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς		
λέγουσιν	21, 31	21, 41		
λέγει αὐτοῖς				
ὁ Ἰησοῦς	21, 31	21, 42		
βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ	21, 31	21, 43	22, 2	τῶν οὐρανῶν
λέγω ὑμῖν	21, 31	21, 43		
ἦλθον	21, 32	21, 40	22, 3	
πρός + acc.	21, 32	21, 34.37		
ὁδός	21, 32		22, 9.10	
ἰδόντες	21, 32	21, 38		

¹ From Mt 21, 33-46 we can point out:

παραβολή	21, 33	22, 1
ἀποστέλλω	21, 34.36.37	22, 3.4
δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ	21, 34.35	22, 3.6.8.10 δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι
δοῦλοι ἄλλοι	21, 36	22, 4
ἀποκτείνω	21, 35.38.39	22, 6
πάλιν	21, 36	22, 1.4
υἱός	21, 37	22, 2
ἀπόλλυμι	21, 41	22, 7

however, Mt 21, 33-46 elaborates at large upon the first mission, while Mt 22, 1-14 does so upon the second. In the parable of the vineyard the vine dressers always act collectively, but in the parable of the wedding a distinction is made and there it says that only those who do not go to their farm or to their business ill-treat and kill the servants that have been sent (22, 6). Thus we see a similarity between Mt 21, 34-22, 3; 21, 35-22, 6; 21, 36-22, 4. The reference in Mt 22, 7 shows that this similarity is not only literary, but that here is carried out what was predicted to the listeners in Mt 21, 41: *κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει*. The fact that Mt 22, 11-14 does not play a part in this complex of references will have to be explained also.

Who has established the mutual coherence? We will have to go carefully here step by step. Even if it has been shown that the framework of the pericope Mt 21, 28-22, 14 is from Mt, one cannot infer from it that the unity is due to Mt. Not until it has been shown that the introductory verses of the parables have been written by Mt himself, has one found an argument for attributing the composition to the gospel-writer. Even this would only mean that Mt has placed the three parables one after the other. Not until it has been demonstrated that the stresses that have been laid here correspond to what we know about Mt from elsewhere, is the proof conclusive. Only then can Mt be the author of this pericope in its totality.

Mt 21, 28-22, 14 lies between two passages which correspond strongly with Mk: Mt 21, 23-27 and 22, 15-22. But it is particularly striking that precisely the introductory verses correspond strongly with Mt's usage. In Mt 21, 23 only the *ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν* has been borrowed from the traditional text, but for the rest it is Mt who is speaking. This appears from the use of the words *προσέρχομαι* (52/5/10) and *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ* (Mt 26, 3.47; 27, 1). Also the addition of *διδάσκοντι* is important. The pericope Mt 21, 23-25, 46 is seen through the eyes of Mt as the exercise of the teaching-activity of Jesus. In Mt 22, 15 the expression *ὅπως αὐτὸν παγιδεύσωσιν ἐν λόγῳ* is traditional, because it corresponds wholly, although not literally, with Mk 12, 13b: *ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀγρεύσωσιν λόγῳ*. They are hunting for Jesus; Mt sees in this a theme which leads to a certain climax. First the disciples of the Pharisees and the Herodians go to Jesus (22, 16),

then the Sadducees (22, 23), then one of the Pharisees themselves (22, 34) and finally Jesus denounces them all (22, 41). This already partly corresponds with the scheme of Mk, but in Mt it is undoubtedly more pronounced and made into a greater whole. The Pharisees, who in Mt 22, 15 take counsel, are the subject in the verses that follow until Jesus silences them (22, 46). As far as Mt is concerned 22, 15-46 forms a unit. The Pharisees of 22, 15 are structurally connected with those of 22, 34 and 22, 41. This is the reason why Mt 22, 15 can be said to have been transformed by Mt to fit his pattern. Moreover the use of the words τότε and συμβούλιον ἔλαβον (Mt 12, 14; 22, 15; 27, 1.7; 28, 12; Mk 3, 6; 15, 1) clearly shows that Mt 22, 15 has been written by Mt himself.

If the linking verses between the various parables could now be attributed to Mt, one could say that Mt has placed the parables one after the other; but the conclusive arguments proving this cannot be found. In Mt 21, 28a the expression τί δὲ ὑμῶν δοκεῖ is used. We find this expression only in Mt 17, 25; 18, 12; 21, 28; 22, 17.42; 26, 66 and Lk 10, 36¹. It is quite possible that the parable already started with this question in the tradition.² It must be admitted though, that the use of the particle δὲ points to a certain caesura, but this means nothing more than that an addition has taken place here.

There is more reason to speak of a redaction by Mt in Mt 21, 33: ἄλλην παραβολὴν ἀκούσατε,³ since Mt 13, 24.31 and 33 also speak of an ἄλλην παραβολήν. Nevertheless great differences remain. The imperative ἀκούσατε indicates the difference in tone. The verb ἀκούω itself is connected with Mt 21, 45. Together with other data Mt 21, 33a could be used as a positive argument. In itself it only means that Mt 21, 28-32 has been added by someone.

The main point of the argument has to be sought in Mt 21, 45-46; 22, 1.⁴ These verses, however, as appears from the parallels in

¹ It is noteworthy that the expression is very good Greek, as appears from the references given by Bauer in his vocabulary and from the LXX, where the expression is only used in typically Greek books, such as Esther, Tobias, Macc 1-4.

² Thus A. Jülicher, Gleichnisreden Jesu, II, 382; J. C. Fenton, Saint Matthew, 339; Lohmeyer, Evangelium, 306 think this to be an argument in favour of the Matthean usage; Bultmann, Geschichte, 102 thinks that it belonged originally to the parable.

³ According to Bultmann, Geschichte, 352, it is an editorial introductory sentence of Mt.

⁴ W. Trilling writes in 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Gleichnisses

Mk and Lk are for the greater part traditional. In the plural τὰς παραβολὰς one can see an adaptation to the context, and the plural οἱ ὄχλοι might indicate also an influence of Mt. Besides, the idea that the leaders of the people were afraid because the people themselves believed Jesus to be a prophet may have been borrowed by the author from Mt 21, 11. But that is all. An important argument in favour of the traditional character of the verse is the subject οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι. Not only is this combination not found anywhere else in Mt except in Mt 27, 62, but there is also the element that it does not fit in with Mt 21, 23. If Mt edited 21, 23, it would have been much easier for him to edit 21, 45, because Mk 12, 12 left the subject undetermined.

Also Mt 22, 1 is probably for the most part traditional. It is clearly an editorial introductory sentence, but there is no reason to attribute this sentence to Mt. On the contrary, the first thing which attracts attention is the use of καί. Mt very often uses the expressions ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν (43/4/27).¹ The subject of the sentence usually follows ἀποκριθεὶς as in Mt 22, 1, but only in Mt 11, 4; 21, 27; 24, 4 and 27, 25 do we also find καί as the conjunction. The use of καί in these texts can partly be explained from the parallel texts Lk 7, 22 and Mk 11, 33.² Mt usually uses the conjunction

vom Hochzeitmahl Mt 22, 1-14, BZ 4 (1960) 262, note 30. Mt 21, 43 vereitelt an sich die Fortsetzung mit V 45 V 45 f wird im Anschluss an Mk doch beibehalten, dabei muss καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπ᾽ ἄλλου Mk 12, 12c aber verschoben werden bis Mt 22, 22. Wegen dieser Rahmennotiz bedarf nun 22, 2-14 einer neuen Einleitung, die alle drei Gleichnisse mit einander verknüpft 22, 1. Da Mt die Pharisäer schon in 21, 45 erwähnt, muss 22, 15 f gegen Mk 12, 13 korrigiert werden. Diese Beobachtungen lassen vermuten, dass Mt ursprünglich wohl keine Gleichnis-Trilogie hier geplant hatte. Would it not be better to assume that this trilogy already existed before Mt? The fact that no plans are made and yet the work is carried out is most strange. A gradual growth in the tradition explains this sort of irregularities much better, because here no regular planning can be assumed.

¹ Mt 3, 15, 4, 4, 11, 4 25, 12, 39 48, 13, 11 37, 14, 28, 15, 3 13 15 24 26 28; 16, 2 16 17, 17, 4 11 17, 19, 4 27, 20, 13 22, 21, 21 24 27 29 30, 22, 1 29, 24, 2 4, 25, 12 26, 26, 23 25 33 66, 27, 21 25, 28, 5

Mk 6, 37, 10, 3, 11, 14, 14, 48 Typical of Mk is the combination ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει, see Mk 8, 29, 9, 5 19, 10, 24, 11, 22 33, 12, 35 (ἐλεγεν), 15, 2 12 (ἐλεγεν)

Lk 1, 19 35 60, 4, 8 12, 5, 5 22 31, 6, 3; 7, 22 40 43, 8, 21, 9, 19 41 49, 10, 27 41; 11, 7, 13, 2, 14, 3, 15, 29, 17, 17, 19, 40, 20, 3 39, 22, 51

² Other connecting particles in Mt are ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ in Mt 11, 25 and τότε in 15, 28, 19, 27. The rest of the texts in Mt have the particle δέ

In Mk we find the particle καὶ in Mk 11, 14, 14, 18

In Lk in 1, 19 35 60, 4, 8 12, 5, 5 31, 6, 3, 7, 22 40, 11, 7, 13, 2, 14, 3; 19, 40.

δέ. Whenever the subject is apparent from the context, the construction is found ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν and when the subject has to be indicated for some reason or other Mt writes ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς (ὁ Πέτρος κ.τ.λ.) εἶπεν.

This is the more striking for the usage of Mt, because Mk has this construction only in Mk 6, 37; 10, 3 and Lk in 8, 21; 9, 19.41. 49; 10, 27; 15, 29; 17, 17; 20, 39 and 22, 51. Finally we must add to all this that Mt does not add λέγων to this expression anywhere else, as in Mt 22, 1. The use of the words πάλιν and ἐν παραβολαῖς is also rather irrelevant. In our context reference is made to Mt 13, 45 and 47 (πάλιν) and to 13, 3.10.13.34.35 (ἐν παραβολαῖς). The majority of these latter places have been defined by Mk and the term used in Mt 22, 1 has been borrowed from Mk 12, 1. Mt 22, 1 cannot be attributed to Mt.

Presumably, then, Mt did not place the three parables together. For him it was an existing unity, which he united even more. The next step is to discover in how far Mt has helped to adapt the parables to each other, but evidence can be brought to light only if the parables are subjected to an 'Einzelanalyse'.

Mt 21, 28-32

This text is generally said to be pre-Matthean.¹ The same also applies to Mt 21, 31c. Even if this did not belong to the parable originally, it must have been an addition which is older than the Mt-gospel itself. This appears from the positive use of the word τελώνης (see Mt 5, 46 and 18, 17) and from the term βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ (in Mt only in 12, 28; 19, 24; 21, 31 and 43).

The debate is about Mt 21, 32, which is in any case an independent logion added to the parable at a later date. Several authors say that Mt has placed it here.² Jeremias,³ however, thinks that the logion was already added to the parable before Mt.⁴ Mt placed this parable here because it already contained the logion 21, 32; for

¹ See for example Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 192 218, Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 79; Kilpatrick, *Origins*, 30, Beilner, *Christus*, 183, Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 23; Strecker, *Weg*, 153; W. Pesch, *Der Lohngedanke*, 48

² Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 192; Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 66; J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, I, 255-256; Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 23; Bornkamm, *Enderwartung*, 25, Strecker, *Weg*, 153.

³ Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 79

⁴ A. Julicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, II, 382 leaves the question undecided Mt or his 'Vorlage' have given the logion its place here

(and this is the argument): 'Matthäus fügt unser Gleichnis ad vocem Ἰωάννης (21, 25/21, 32) in sein Evangelium ein, fand also das Gleichnis vermutlich schon mit dem Schlussvers 32 vor'. This is now exactly the point which has to be proved. In any case one can accept with Jeremias that the words Ἰωάννης (and πιστεύω 21, 32/21, 25) function as 'Stichworte'. Moreover, the logion Mt 21, 32 must have been traditional, for it is also found in Lk 7, 29-30.

Strecker¹ provides the argumentation for the other side: Mt 21, 32 has been added by Mt to the parable, for the second person plural fits the context; μεταμέλομαι is only found in Mt (21, 29.32; 27, 3); ὅστερον (7/0/1) and τοῦ + infinitive² are also characteristic of Mt. Mt 21, 32 corresponds with his 'Vorlage' Lk 7, 29-30 as far as the content is concerned, but the way it has been expressed has undergone a secondary change. It is my impression that this line of argumentation is set up especially in order to reach the (his) conclusion: 'Es ist nach allem so gut wie sicher, dass der Ausdruck ὁδὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης redaktionellen Ursprungs ist'.

When studied more closely the arguments of Jeremias and Strecker appear to deal with different sentences altogether. Jeremias speaks about Mt 21, 32a-b and Strecker about Mt 21, 32c. Is it permissible to agree both with Jeremias and Strecker, but only in as far as they try to carry their argument? This would mean, that Mt 21, 32a-b had been connected with the parable at a pre-Matthean date (this explains the resemblance with Mt 21, 25 and with Lk 7, 29-30), but that Mt himself added 21, 32c: ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰδόντες οὐδὲ μετεμελήθητε ὅστερον τοῦ πιστεῦσαι αὐτῷ. This would explain precisely those terms which, according to Strecker, are characteristic of Mt.

There are also other arguments which point to this solution. While Mt 21, 32a-b as compared with the parable adds new data: ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης, ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης, πιστεύω, Mt 21, 32c does not add anything new: ὑμεῖς has been borrowed from 21, 28.31.32a; μεταμέλομαι from 21, 29; ὅστερον from 21, 29; πιστεύω from 21, 32a-b. As far as the combination of ἰδὼν with μεταμέλομαι is concerned see Mt 27, 3.

A distinction can be seen between 21, 32a-b and 21, 32c as

¹ Strecker, Weg, 153.

² The latter might be doubted. Mt uses τοῦ + infinitive only in Mt 2, 13; 3, 13; 6, 8; 11, 1; 13, 3; 21, 32 and 24, 45. In Lk there would have been much more clarity, for he uses this construction 26 times.

to content. To a certain extent Mt 21, 32a-b goes well with the preceding parable. The high priests and the elders, who have said 'yes' to the Law, did not ultimately do anything when the ὁδὸς δικαιοσύνης was revealed in John, while the public sinners, the publicans and the harlots reacted in precisely the opposite fashion. Someone wished to give greater precision to this idea by adding Mt 21, 32c, but the result was only that things became even more complicated. Mt 21, 32c makes it impossible to say that there is an application. The persons addressed are not compared any more with the picture given in the parable, for neither the first son nor the second son function as the mirror of the real situation. In fact what Mt 21, 32c says is: the leaders of the people have never believed, not in the past nor at any time later on. With Lohmeyer one can say¹: 'Die Verwandtschaft der Worte verdeckt kunstlich den Gegensatz in der Sache'.

Mt 21, 33-46

It is needless to say that there is no reason why we should enter into the oft-discussed question as to whether the parable as such is an allegory and therefore not authentic.² Mt's edition undoubtedly contains elements which cannot be attributed to Jesus. We will restrict ourselves to the problems concerning the

¹ Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 311 This author says that in this passage should be seen a 'Wort der Gemeinde, vielleicht mit einem echten Kern'

² The critics of A. Julicher are often too simple in their approach. Julicher was the first to defend this theory, but he is not as dogmatic as others would have us believe. Particularly in Mk 12, 1-19 he admits that Jesus might be the author, although it is an allegory. Jesus must have known Is 5, and Mk 14, 21-24 shows that he knew that he was going to be killed. According to Julicher the parable is not authentic, because the listeners understand the parable and moreover the leaders of the people think that Jesus is the κληρονόμος. This cannot be placed in the historical life of Jesus. Jesus may have spoken in terms like Mk 12, 1-9 and Mt 21, 43 (*Gleichnisreden Jesu*, II, 406).

For the problems concerning the original parable, see B. van Iersel, 'Der Sohn', 124-125. Those who wish to defend the authenticity of the parable often only refer to data which are supposed to explain the strange behaviour of the lord and the vine-growers, see J. D. M. Derrett, *Fresh Light on the Parable of the Wicked Vine-dressers*, *RevIntern des Droits de l'Antiquité* 10 (1963) 11-41 and M. Hengel, *Das Gleichnis von den Weingärtern* *Mc 12, 1-12 im Lichte der Zenonpapyri und der rabbinischen Gleichnisse*, *ZNW* 59 (1968) 1-39. They follow earlier studies of C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 93-98 and Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 67-75; see also A. M. Hunter, *Interpreting the Parables*, 87-88. 116-118, L. Cerfaux, *Le trésor des paraboles*, 111-116.

authorship of Mt. It is remarkable how consistent the parable in Mt is; there are no clear editorial insertions which might indicate that the tradition has been rewritten.

Only by comparing the parable with the text in Mk 12, 1-12 (and Lk 20, 9-19) does it appear that there has been an intensive revision. Apart from the stylistic changes,¹ only two great thematical data are left which determine the individual atmosphere of the parable in Mt:

- (1) Mk and Lk speak about one servant sent as a messenger; Mt's text speaks about many messengers who are mistreated.
- (2) The theme of Mk 12, 12b has been elaborated strongly: the vine-growers have to yield part of the fruits of the vineyard.

(1) In Mt the climax is not found in the ever-growing rudeness and brutality of the way the servants are treated. Right from the beginning they are beaten, killed or stoned. The stress is therefore not on the increasing ill-treatment but precisely on the opposition between the δούλοι and the υἱός. Even the lord's son is killed.² There is no doubt that this allegorical trend of the parable has a meaning in the perspective of salvation-history: first the servants are persecuted and then the same happens to the son of the lord himself (21, 37 υἱός αὐτοῦ). The mission of the son is even a greater failure than that of the δούλοι, because this son conjures up the idea in the minds of the vine-growers that they might get possession of the vineyard itself (see the addition of αὐτοῦ to κληρονομία, 21, 38).³ It is therefore not surprising that the punishment gets extra stress. This is done not only by changing the construction

¹ Mt 21, 33: the difference between ὑπολήγιον and ληνός and the order of words, see Gundry, *The Use of the O T*, 43-44, Mt 21, 34 the omission of the παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν and the alterations in the construction, Mt 21, 36 the omission of καὶ and of πρὸς αὐτούς: see B van Iersel, 'Der Sohn', 135, Mt 21, 37 ὕστερον δέ; Mt 21, 38 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς and the word-sequence (see Lk 20, 14); Mt 21, 40-42 construction, Mt 21, 44 construction

² There may be a connection between the great number of servants and the fact that Mt qualifies the ἄνθρωπος as an οἰκοδεσπότης. In a case like this hardly anything can be proved statistically over against Trilling, *Wahre Israel*, 56 and B. van Iersel, 'Der Sohn', 133

³ For some reason or other Trilling has some difficulties that prevent him from calling this an explanation of the parable in the perspective of the history of salvation. However, if the parable deals with the guilt of Israel, this surely means that it also deals with the history of salvation, see Trilling, *Wahre Israel*, 65

of 21, 40-42, but also by the addition of κακούς κακῶς in 21, 41. The vine-growers are described as κακοί, and therefore their downfall will be κακῶς.

In how far can we answer the question about the authorship of the 'Schichte' in the tradition of the parable? There will always be some doubt, but to my mind there is enough reason to attribute this transformation not to Mt but to someone else. First of all the theme is already present in nucleo in Mk 12, 5: καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους οὓς μὲν δέροντες οὓς δὲ ἀποκτείνοντες. This insertion is a secondary addition,¹ but it shows that the parable was such that it could take up this theme. It is very probable however, that this insertion already had taken place before Mk.² This would mean that it was traditional for Mt.

It is important to notice that it is universally accepted that the word δοῦλοι means prophets in Mt.³ This establishes an immediate link between this parable and the theme of the prophets who have been killed. They were not listened to, on the contrary they were flogged and killed. Therefore the judgment is also unavoidable. The transformation of the parable should be seen against this background, i.e., it fits into the pattern of a traditional Jewish theme.

A last indication for placing this 'layer' is Mt 21, 35. Jülicher⁴ has already pointed out, that it is not strange that the ἐλιθοβόλησαν follows ἀπέκτειναν. It is worse to be stoned than to be killed, for in the eyes of the Jews stoning was a capital punishment with a strongly religious meaning (Ex 19, 13; Lev 20, 2.27; 24, 14.16.23; Num 15, 35.36; Dt 13, 11; 17, 5; 21, 21; 22, 21.24). In the rabbinic writings it was the most severe death penalty, for it was applied only to blasphemers and idolaters.⁵ This shows once more

¹ See B van Iersel, 'Der Sohn', 136; W G Kummel, Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtern, in 'Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne', Mélanges à M M Goguel, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1950, 122, M Hengel, Das Gleichnis von den Weingärtern Mc 12, 1-12, ZNW 59 (1968) 6, Jeremias, Gleichnisse, 69.

² Jeremias, Gleichnisse, 69, note 3

³ See among others S Pedersen, Zum Problem der vaticania ex eventu, Eine Auslegung von Mt 21, 33-46 par, 22, 1-10 par, StTh 19 (1965) 167-188; H J Schoeps, Die jüdischen Prophetenmorde, in 'Aus frühchristlicher Zeit', 126-143, F Mussner, Die bösen Winzer nach Matthäus 21, 33-46, in 'Antijudaismus im NT', 129-134, O Steck, Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten, 298

⁴ A Jülicher, Gleichnisreden Jesu, II, 309

⁵ See Mishna Sanh 9, 3 and further P Winter, On the Trial of Jesus, 67-74.

that the background of this 'layer' was Jewish, for in the Graeco-Roman world the crucifixion was seen as the least honourable and the most severe punishment ¹.

The term *κακοὶ κακῶς* is a hellenisation,² but this does not mean that the tradition as a whole should be placed in a Greek 'Umwelt'. Anyway it would be rather strange to hold Mt himself responsible for using this term, because for him it is not the word *κακῶς* which is typifying, but the word *πονηρός*.

(2) The second theme which determines the atmosphere characteristic of the parable in Mt, is the way Mk 12, 5b has been elaborated. In spite of the fact that little attention has been paid to this it seems to my mind to be very important. The *οικοδοσπότης* of Mt seems to mind more that he does not get the fruits of his vineyard than that his servants and his son have been killed. The vineyard is not taken away without further ado and given to others. It is given to people who will deliver the harvest at the right moment and on time. It is remarkable that the lord of the parable does not demand part of the yield, as in Mk 12, 2 (Lk 20, 10), but *τοὺς καρπούς αὐτοῦ* (Mt 21, 34), *τοὺς καρπούς* (Mt 21, 41), *τοὺς καρπούς αὐτῆς* in the application of 21, 43. Connected with this is the fact that the harvest has to be delivered on time (21, 34.41).

Consciously or subconsciously an identification has taken place between the vine-growers and the vineyard itself. It has become a single property and the only thing that is asked is that the fruit should be delivered. This has nothing to do any more with the real situation in life itself.³ The tree should yield fruit. If this is the meaning the implicit reference to Ps 1, 3 (LXX), *καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον . . . ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ* becomes meaningful, for negatively it means that the vine-growers of the parable have to be compared with the godless ones of the psalm.

The question of whether or not Mt himself is the author is even more difficult to answer. Since the thematical transformation

¹ According to Cicero, *In Verrem*, II, 5, 64, 165 the crucifixion was 'crudelissimum taerrimumque'; according to Tacitus, *Hist* 4, 11 a 'servile supplicium', Dig 48, 19, 28 a 'summum supplicium', see Joh Schneider, TWNT, VII, 573, s.v. *σταυρός*, LexfKirche u Theol, s.v. *Kreuzigung*.

² Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 314; Bl-D & 488, 1, M Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 118 Mt, however, does not depend on the Greek of Mk in this expression, contra M Black.

³ See Str-B, I, 873 about the contracts which were drawn up between the 'kolonus' and his master.

of the parable is so general, it could equally be attributed to the tradition or to Mt. In the whole of Mt we see a similar theme come to the fore in Mt 3, 10 (= Lk 3, 9), and in the gospel tradition we also find something similar in Lk 13, 6-9, but this is of course not decisive. Nor Mt 21, 43 can be used as an argument. The place of this logion is secondary. It hardly seems probable that 21, 43 has been the stimulus to re-interpret the parable. Rather the opposite is the case. I do not see any arguments which might provide us with any more certainty here.

Finally something must be said about the often discussed and apparently poly-interpretable verse Mt 21, 43. According to Strecker¹ it cannot be doubted that Mt placed this verse here. In spite of the fact that his own theory heavily leans on the Matthean character of this verse, he believes this assertion to be conclusive. In a controversy with Trilling² he makes it clear that Mt 21, 43 cannot be said to have been written by Mt. The verse contains only traditional elements. In that case little remains of the argument. The use of the *διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν* indicates a certain redaction (see Mt 6, 25; 12, 31; Mk 11, 24; Lk 12, 22), which however need not be a redaction by Mt. For the rest it can only be said that under the influence of 21, 28-32 Mt has changed the term *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* (or has left it where it was before). Anyone who thinks this is enough proof to see Mt as the one who placed this verse here, he can take advantage of it. For my part I do not believe it to be out of the question that the re-interpretation of the parable by means of the *καρπός — καιρός* idea was traditional and that thus the logion too was drawn to this place.³

Mt 22, 1-14

The lack of a homogeneous character of the parable, the material for comparison from Lk 14, 15-24 and the fact that the parable

¹ Strecker, Weg, 169

² Trilling, Wahre Israel, 58

³ Thus far I agree with F. Mussner, *Die bosen Winzer nach Matthäus 21, 33-46*, in 'Antijudaismus im NT', 129-134, which sees also a connection between the *καρπός — καιρός* idea and Mt 21, 43. In the excellent article of R. J. Dillon, *Towards a Tradition-History of the Parable of the True Israel* (Matthew 21, 33-22, 14), *Bibl* 47 (1966) 1-42, the theme of the fruit-bearing has been placed against the background of the baptism-paranesis. Also according to him this theme is a traditional interpretation of the parable and it is not a redactional relecture.

has been synchronized with 21, 28-32 and 33-46 must be the arguments used in judging the various interpretations given to Mt 22, 1-14. As appears from the theories which have been developed about it, the final answer seems to be a long way off. The classic theory sees Mt 22, 6-7 as an insertion of Mt and Mt 22, (10 . 11-14 as his addition. The fact that Mt 22, 1-10 is parallel with 21, 33-46 (the doubling of the servants that are sent out) is also usually attributed to Mt.¹

Lately, however, there have been a number of authors who are not satisfied with this answer. As far as I can see, W. Trilling was the first to study this simplification critically.² According to him Mt has a polemic and a paranetic purpose in mind. The parable is a controversy against Judaism and at the same time a paranesis in order to protect the church against the mistakes made by Israel. Both motives have been added to the text of Lk 14, 15-24. Trilling therefore distinguishes three phases in the transmission of the parable. The first well-known unit is the parable about the supper in Lk 14, 15-24. This parable was applied to the situation of the Christian community in the church of Mt. The stress therefore was laid on the second part of the parable; the concepts: king, son and wedding are added with typically paranetic features as in 22, 11-14. In the third phase, which coincides with the editorial phase, the stress is again laid on the first half. Mt provides the elements which makes it resemble the vineyard-parable. One can even presume that this ad hoc editorial transformation took place in the process of the writing down of the parable itself. This may be gathered from the fact that the framework is not a complete success and that whole sentences have been borrowed stereotypically from 21, 33-43.

¹ At least from A. Julicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, II, 407-431 onwards; W. C. Allen, *Gospel*, 234-236. Many followed this afterwards. Because one often restricts oneself to the question of the original parable, it is not always clear whether the doubling of the messengers is attributed to Mt himself. Mostly one merely establishes the secondary character of this adaptation to Mt 21, 33-46. Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 189; C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 90-91; Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 65-67; J. Gnlika, *Die Verstockung Israels*, 99-100; E. Linnemann, *Gleichnisse Jesu*, 101-103; Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 55-56; Strecker, *Weg*, 111-113; R. Swaeles, *L'orientation ecclésiastique de la parabole du festin nuptial en Mt 22, 1-14*, *ETL* 36 (1960) 655-684; O. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten*, 300-302.

² W. Trilling, *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Gleichnisses vom Hochzeitsmahl Mt 22, 1-14*, *BZ* 4 (1960) 251-265.

V. Hasler ¹ followed this study by Trilling. He distinguishes a threefold process in the parable. The first layer is eschatologically and ecclesiologically determined. Until the time of the Judgment the community will consist of both 'evil and good ones'. The term *διάκονος* (Mt 22, 13) is the element which gives the parable its ecclesiological dimension, for the question is whether or not this term should be connected with texts like Mt 16, 19 and 18, 18: the apostolic church order is an anticipation or a preparation for the eschatological judgment. The second layer is that of the history of salvation, and there the theme of the promise and its fulfilment is elaborated. It says that 'everything is ready', because Jesus is not the one who fulfills, but he is the fulfilment itself. Israel refuses to listen to the *δοῦλοι ἄλλοι* (i.e. Jesus and his disciples). Therefore the boundaries will be crossed *ἐπὶ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὁδῶν* (Mt 22, 9). In the third layer the polemic motive comes to the fore: Mt 22, 7-8. The unrepentant Jews have rejected John the Baptist, Jesus and his disciples in their notorious disobedience, they have persecuted them and often murdered, as they did with the Messiah, but because the end of time is near, the punishment has already begun. Jerusalem has been destroyed as a punishment for the murder of the Messiah.

R. J. Dillon ² also distinguishes three layers in the tradition of the parable: (1) The basis underlying Mt 22, 1-14 is a banquet-parable whose intention was simply to inculcate the fact of salvation-history: Israel had failed to live up to her election and now others were called in her place. (2) In Mt the prior tradition of the parable has been transformed by the addition to it of an originally distinct figure, the parable of the wedding garment, accounting not only for the addition of 22, 11-14, but also for the change of the original host into a 'king' and the original meal into a 'royal marriage feast' (22, 2). The new (composite) parable has as its central meaning not the transfer of the invitation but the discernment of worthiness among the newly invited. The Matthean community is here reflecting on the corollaries rather than the fact of its election. (3) A final stage of the parable's growth, which would appear to be that of the final redaction, accomplishes the

¹ V. Hasler, *Die königliche Hochzeit*, Matth 22, 1-14, TZ 18 (1962) 25-35.

² R. J. Dillon, *Towards a Tradition-History of the Parable of the True Israel* (Matthew 21, 33-22, 14), Bibl 47 (1966) 1-42.

polemical systematizing. The polemical vv. 6-7 are added, reflecting the well-known prophet-murder motif; and the whole is conformed in language and structure to the parable of the husbandmen, which was obviously the fixed nucleus in the growth of the present text.

Roughly speaking these are the solutions which have been put forward this far.¹ The studies by Trilling, Hasler and Dillon clearly demonstrated, in spite of the justified criticism on them,² that the 'Traditionsgeschichte' of this parable is often taken too casually. In the classic answer to the problems, Mt 22, (1.2a). 3b.4a. 6.7.8c.10.14 had been written by Mt or added. However, too little or no allowance is made for the literary givens of the texts. One might say that Mt 22, 3b.4a are adaptations of Mt 21, 33-46, but Mt 22, 1-5 runs smoothly without showing a seam. Not until Mt 22, 6-7 do we have some indications of an insertion, because οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ is clearly inharmoniously connected with what precedes. If the latter, however, is attributed to Mt it cannot be said any longer that Mt is also responsible for making 21, 34-36 (and 21, 28-32) parallel with 22, 3-5, for in that case it is not understandable how such a clever interpolator of Mt 22, 3-5 has become so clumsy in 22, 6.

The source of the problems has to be seen in the supposition that Mt himself has placed the parable of 22, 1 ff. in this place; if this is the case, one has to come to this conclusion. However, it would seem better not to use this supposition. The three parables 21, 28-32.33-46 and 22, 1 ff. were already connected with one another in the tradition. The objections that have been put forward are additional arguments for this theory. In the course of the tradition the parables have influenced one another. This explains

¹ K. H. Rengstorff, Die Stadt der Morder (Mt 22, 7), in 'Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche', Festschr. f. J. Jeremias, 106-129 sees in Mt 22, 6-7 the origin from which the whole parable is to have come. He has shown that Mt 22, 6-7 cannot be interpreted with absolute certainty against the background of the destruction of Jerusalem. The verse is a literary topos of the destruction of the city. However, even if one takes this point of view, this does not mean that Mt 22, 7 per se has no connection with the destruction of Jerusalem. The results of my own investigation reveal my arguments against the article of R. J. Dillon, although I fully agree with his study.

² See Strecker, Weg, 111, note 7, which criticizes the study of Trilling; similar, and even stronger, objections can be raised against V. Hasler, see E. Linnemann, Gleichnisse Jesu, 167, note 20.

the construction in Mt 21, 40-42 (= 21, 31) and the numerous mutual references, which no longer cause any caesuras in the text.

However, this only means that Mt 22, 1-5.9 was traditionally connected with 21, 28-46. The rest of the text shows numerous, demonstrable editorial characteristics. Mt 22, 6-7 is an insertion by Mt himself. This can be gathered first of all from the οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ which has not been adapted. Mt wished to perfect the parallel with Mt 21, 32-46, which was already present, by adding the elements of the persecution and the downfall of the city. It is perhaps significant that the 'stoning' of 21, 35 is no longer mentioned, but it is even more important that the κακοί of 21, 41 have become φονεῖς, an idea which prepares Mt 23, 31.

Mt 22, 6-7 has to be qualified as a Matthean insertion as can be gathered from 22, 8. This verse became necessary because the king had to enter the picture again and speak after the divine judgment had been carried out. It first gives a summary of what precedes ὁ μὲν γάμος ἑτοιμός ἐστιν, but at the same time it is a first preparation for Mt 22, 11-14: οἱ δὲ κεκλημένοι οὐκ ἦσαν ἄξιοι. The use of the words τότε and οὖν (in 22, 9) show that Mt himself continues the story after his insertion. As a last remark it should be said that the singular ὁ γάμος runs parallel with the use of it made in 22, 10. (11.12); this is in contrast with 22, 2.3.4 and 9 (!), where the plural γάμοι is used.

Mt 22, 10 is both a closing and an introductory verse. Since here too it can be surmised that Mt has been at work, he is the one who added 22, 11-14. Mt 22, 10 partly repeats what has been ordered in 22, 9 and the final sentence has been borrowed from 22, 11-14. The fact that nowhere else has the execution of an order been worked out, together with the references to the editorial verse 22, 8 (δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, γάμος) and the use of the typically Matthean formula πονηροὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, reveal it as a Matthean redaction.

Mt 22, 10b-13 must have been a traditional parable. This can be gathered from the parallels found in Jewish literature.¹ It has become a strongly allegorical whole,² but that is the reason why it is so difficult to demonstrate a specific influence of Mt. One image can call forth another one. In particular this holds good for 22, 13, where the σκότος nearly automatically leads to the next

¹ Str-B, I, 878-879; P. Fiebig, Gleichnisreden, 17-27.

² M. Hermaniuk, Parabole Evangélique, 227-229.

logion (see Mt 8, 12 and 25, 30). In any case it creates an impression of how the community of Mt saw the eschatological darkness.¹

Mt 22, 14 has probably been added by Mt himself, because it can only be explained on the basis of the combination of 22, 1-10 and 22, 11-13. The πολλοὶ κλητοί refer to the κεκλημένοι and the ὀλίγοι ἐκλεκτοί to the ἀνακειμένους who possess a wedding garment.²

B. MT 23, 29-39

The second pericope which demands our attention in connection with the accusation of the murdering of prophets will not need such an abundance of words.

Mt 23, 29-33

The tradition about the guilt, which can be gathered from the tombs of the prophets and the righteous ones that are honoured in Mt 23, 29-33, is hard to unravel. Structurally the verses do not completely fit the speech against the Pharisees in 23, 13-39. The reasoning is complicated and the real point remains shrouded. The stress rests on the accusation of the υἱοὶ ἐστε in Mt 23, 31.³ The Pharisees and the scribes think that they themselves, in contrast with their forefathers, would never have befouled themselves with the blood of the prophets and still they build the tombs of the murdered prophets. They do not hold themselves responsible and yet it appears from their action that they cultivate a communal feeling of guilt.⁴ In doing so they testify to their refusal to change their ways. Since they do not confess their guilt, they are not willing to repent, for the confession of guilt is the first requisite for contrition. Therefore they are like their fathers who remained unrepentant. The challenge to fill up the measures of the fathers (23, 32), starts from the ancient Jewish idea that God in his patience always again gives them the opportunity to repent, and that he suspends his judgment until the measure of their

¹ A last argument in favour of the traditional connection between the parables 21, 28-32 33-46 and 22, 1-10 might be seen in the fact that 22, 11-13 does not show references to other parables. The latter prove in any case that 22, 11-13.14 has been connected with the rest at a later date.

² Strecker, Weg, 219, note 1; R. Swaen, L'orientation ecclésiastique de la parabole du festin nuptial en Mt 22, 1-14, ETL 36 (1960) 662.

³ See Trilling, Wahre Israel, 201.

⁴ O. Steck, Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten, 281.

sinfulness is full.¹ However, when this happens the time for repenting is past and the time of judgment has come.²

Thus far Mt 23, 29-33 fits into the pattern of the classic representation of the guilt of Israel which is revealed in the murdering of the prophets. However, in this text of Mt two changes have taken place.³ The addition οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι restricts the accusation to the leaders of the people and the addition of verse 33 excludes any possibility of conversion. Precisely these two additions can most probably be attributed to Mt himself. We have already shown this with regard to οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι. The same applies to Mt 23, 33 as well.⁴ The expression γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν⁵ is found in Mt 3, 7; 12, 34; 23, 33 and Lk 3, 7,

¹ Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 87.

² W L Knox, The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, 99 appears to have missed the real point of the logion 'The argument that the Jews by building the tombs of the prophets condone the deeds of their fathers is hopelessly weak and disingenuous, and would appear to have grown up in a rather low level of anti-Jewish controversy' The anti-Israel motive is classical in Jewish literature

³ To my mind it is questionable whether any other redactional changes can be pointed out in Mt 23, 29-33. Sometimes the surplus of Mt is indicated in Mt 23, 29 καὶ κοσμεῖτε τὰ μνηεῖα τῶν δικαίων as a redaction by Mt (see for example Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 158, O Steck, Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten, 28) Especially the use of the word δίκαιος, which is very important in the context (23, 28 29 35 35), should be pointed out, but no explanation is given why Mt uses the word τέφος precisely in the first half of the sentence, which is one of his preferred words (6/0/0) instead of the Lucan μνημεῖον in contrast with the second part of the sentence. Moreover the composition προφήτης — δίκαιος was already known in Jewish literature (see O Steck, Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten, 287, note 1) and this does not say much for the redactional character of the addition either. Mt 23, 32 is also sometimes looked upon as a redactional addition (T. W Manson, Sayings of Jesus, 238, E Haenchen, Matthaus 23, ZfthK 48 (1951) 52, D Hare, The Theme of Jewish Persecution, 86), but it is difficult to give any arguments. The difficulties begin already in establishing the exact text in Be sy⁸ πληρώσετε is used and in D H ἐπληρώσατε. The ὑμεῖς in a non-Christian meaning is not Matthean, the word πληρώω is certainly Matthean (16/2/9), but not in the meaning in which it is used here. In 23, 32 it is a pejorative and that is the only time in Mt that it is used in such a meaning.

⁴ Lagrange, Evangile, 450 already indicated this verse as Matthean; see also Strecker, Weg, 159, Bultmann, Geschichte, 118 137, T F. Glasson, Anti-Pharisaism in S Matthew, JQR 51 (1960/61) 318. D Hare, The Theme of Jewish Persecution, 87 also sees a clear distinction with respect to certainty concerning the redactional character of Mt 21, 32 and Mt 21, 33. In the case of the latter verse one can speak 'with certainty'.

⁵ For the history of the patristic exegesis of this expression see U Treu, Otterngezucht, ein patristischer Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des Physiologus, ZNW 50 (1959) 113-122

but only in Mt it is said of the leaders of the Jewish people. According to Trilling the rest of Mt 23, 33 is supposed to be a variant on the tradition of Mt 3, 7,¹ but the objection can be raised against this that the verse is composed of concepts which show some preference of Mt: φεύγω (7/5/3); κρίσις (12/0/4), precisely in the meaning of 'judgment, condemnation' it is a word which has Mt's preference (see Mt 5, 21. 22; 10, 15; 11, 24; 18, 36. 41; 23, 33); γέννα (7/3/1). Moreover, from the word γέννα a reference arises to Mt 23, 15: their proselytes are even worse children of hell than they themselves.² Finally the verse is lacking in the parallel tradition of Lk. In conclusion we might say that this verse consists of traditional concepts and was added editorially by Mt as a concluding sentence. It is a threat for this generation of murderers who will not escape from condemnation. They can no longer be saved. The words of address ὄφεις γεννήματα ἑχιδνῶν are decisive for the interpretation. The leaders of the Jewish people are vipers, a generation of vipers, who belong in Gehenna.

Mt 23, 34-36

The application to the leaders of the Jewish people is redactionally continued in Mt 23, 34-36. This may be gathered first of all from the alteration of the Lucan εἰς αὐτοὺς into πρὸς ὑμᾶς (Lk 11, 49-Mt 23, 34). It is almost certain that this change has to be attributed to Mt, because the connection between this quotation and what precedes was already a traditional element in Q. Because Mt uses πρὸς ὑμᾶς the quotation is more closely knit together with the context³ in a formulation which, strictly speaking, is Lucan (πρὸς + accusative 41/62/164). However, if this alteration has to be attributed to Mt, this also holds good for the use of the second person plural of the following verbs: ἀποκτενεῖτε, σταυρώσετε, μαστιγώσετε, διώξετε, ἐφονεύσατε.

In further support of this contention we might refer to the use of the expressions where the second person plural is also used and which are said to be editorial for other reasons. First of all one can refer to the expression ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν (Mt 23, 34).

¹ W. Trilling, Die Täufertradition bei Matthäus, BZ 3 (1959) 283.

² Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 69.

³ See E. Haenchen, Matthäus 23, ZThK 48 (1951) 54; D. Hare, The Theme of Jewish Persecution, 92; O. Steck, Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten, 29, note 3.

Kilpatrick sees in this continual use of the possessive pronoun with the word συναγωγή (your, their) in Mt the attitude of the Christians expressed after the insertion of the Birkat ha-minim in the Birkot prayer. By means of this prayer directed against the heretics the Jews wished to exclude the Christians from the services in the synagogue. That they were successful in their design can be gathered from the fact that the Christians begin to speak of 'your, their synagogues'.¹ At any rate the tendency in Mt is clear: συναγωγή occurs 9/8/15 times; with the addition (αὐτῶν, ὑμῶν) 6/2/1 times; it is traditional in Mk 1, 39 = Mt 4, 23.

The formulation ὅπως ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πᾶν αἷμα δίκαιον (Mt 23, 35) must likewise be seen against the same background. Within Mt this expression refers to Mt 27, 4.19.25, which in all probability are redactional. Also, the expression of Lk ἐκζητέομαι corresponds more exactly to the O.T. background of the text² and is therefore presumably more original. Finally, the Matthean character of the formulation is referred to by the use of the words ὅπως (17/1/17³ and δίκαιος (17/2/11). Mt wished to 'christianize' the text. The blood which will come down upon this generation, was called down by this generation itself at the time of Jesus' death. Since they go on persecuting those who have been sent, they continue the murder of the Messiah.

The third expression which establishes a closer contact with the context is δὲν ἐφονεύσατε μεταξὺ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. Typical of Mt are the words φονεύω (5/1/1) and ναός instead of οἶκος (ναός 9/3/4). In the text of Lk 11, 51 the use of the participle τοῦ ἀπολομένου does not make clear who the really guilty ones are. The text of Mt does not leave any doubt about it.⁴

¹ Kilpatrick, *Origins*, 110-111; Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 29; Strecker, *Weg*, 30

² S. Légasse, *Scribes et disciples de Jésus*, RB 68 (1961) 329, ἐκζητέω is the ordinary translation of Hebrew שָׁרַר in the LXX; it is also used in 2 Chron 24, 22

³ ὅπως is found in Sondergut in Mt 2, 8.23; 5, 16 46, 6, 2 4 5 16 18, 8, 17, 13, 35; 22, 15. Lk 2, 35; 7, 3, 11, 37, 16, 26 28; 24, 20. It is traditionally used by Mt in Mt 9, 38 (= Lk 10, 2), Mt 12, 14 = Mk 3, 6). In Mt 8, 34; 23, 35; 26, 59 Mt has altered the sentence to such an extent that he uses the word ὅπως only in contrast with the parallel-texts

⁴ D. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution*, 93-94. I can subscribe to what the author writes, 'Matthew's ἐφονεύσατε gives expression to his conviction that the scribes and Pharisees were incarnations of the spirit of apostate Israel'. However, no conclusions can be reached about the history of the period during which Mt was conceived

The tendency found in Mt 23, 29-33 to concentrate all the responsibility of Israel upon the leaders of the Jewish people provides the explanation for the numerous changes in Mt 23, 34-36. The scribes and the Pharisees are guilty of all the evil that has happened in the history of Israel. Mt 23, 36 therefore receives very specific meaning in Mt. 'This generation' is confined to the leaders of the Jewish people. They are the ones upon whom all this will come down, they are beyond all redemption. Thus far Mt 23, 36 immediately follows Mt 23, 33. The Jewish authorities are so fully identified with the guilty Israel that only rejection can be spoken of¹. Redactionally the stress in Mt 23, 36 is on ταῦτα πάντα²: they are guilty of all these things.

A comparison with the text of Lk 11, 49-51, however, shows that even more alterations have taken place in Mt 23, 34-36, although not all of them are to be attributed to Mt. If one says that σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ has been altered into λέγω of Mt 23, 34, one has already taken a stand in the dispute about the quotation character of Mt 23, 34 ff.³ Whichever solution one advocates, it is impossible to answer the question about the specific Matthean redaction.⁴

¹ Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 37: 'ἡ γεγενῆσθαι αὐτῇ ist (in Mt 23, 36) ... das Israel, das im Gegenüber und Gegensatz zu den künftigen Boten vollends zum Gericht reif wird und das doch jetzt schon Jesus gegenüber steht, aus seinem Mund die Unausweichlichkeit des Gerichts vernimmt'

² ταῦτα πάντα occurs 11/4/5 times Mt borrows it from his 'Vorlage' in Mt 6, 32 (Q Lk 12, 30), 19, 20 (Mk 10, 20, Lk 18, 21), 24, 34 (Mk 13, 30) For the rest he uses it independently in Mt 4, 9, 6, 33, 13, 34; 13, 51 (S), 23, 36; 24, 28 33 Lk in 16, 14 (S), 21, 36 and 24, 9 (S), Mk in 7, 23 and 13, 4 The sequence in which the words are used may be relevant as well (Strictly speaking one should also take into account the differences in the manuscripts, because text-critically the sequence is not always certain, but if one keeps to the text of Aland, one sees the following results). ταῦτα πάντα in Mt 4, 9, 6, 33, 13, 34, 13, 51, 23, 36, 24, 2.33, Lk 12, 30, 18, 21; 21, 36; 24, 9, Mk 10, 20; 13, 4, 13, 30 πάντα ταῦτα in Mt 6, 32, 19, 20, 24, 8, 34; Lk 16, 14, Mk 7, 23

³ The opposite opinion that Lk has changed the text of Mt from the point of view of a σοφία christology (Jesus is the σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ), is defended in Allen, Gospel, 249, S Légasse, Scribes et disciples de Jésus, RB 68 (1961) 331, Stendahl, School, 92, note 3, McNeile, Gospel, 339

⁴ Bultmann, Geschichte, 119, Dibelius, Formgeschichte, 246, E. Haenchen, Matthäus 23, ZThK 48 (1951) 53, Trilling, Wahre Israel, Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten, 29, D. Hare, The Theme of Jewish Persecution, 88 think that Mt has written λέγω An excellent introduction in the status questionis is found in S Légasse, Scribes et disciples de Jésus, RB 68 (1961) 323-333, a religio-historical exposition about the pericope is found in A Szabó, Anfänge einer judenchristlichen Theologie bei Mt, Jud 16 (1960) 193-206 He associates it with the Jewish Christianity such

Regardless of the question as to whether the expression *προφήτας καὶ σοφούς καὶ γραμματεῖς* has to be understood as indicating a historical reality inside the ecclesiastical community of Mt or not,¹ one must say that there is little reason to attribute this enumeration to Mt. Since Lk 11, 49 also mentions the *προφήται* the editorial influence of Mt affects at the best the words *γραμματεῖς* and *σοφοί*. *σοφοί* is also found in Mt 11, 25 (= Lk 10, 21), but there it undoubtedly has a different meaning.

In Mt 23, 34 it is, practically speaking, a hapax. The *γραμματεῖς* in the positive meaning of the word is also found in the verse Mt 13, 52, which is a 'Sondergut' of Mt and which has been quoted, like 23, 34, in order to prove the existence of Christian scribes.² Since no other texts can be quoted for this purpose, this positive basis for a redactional alteration in Mt 23, 34 seems to be rather small. This even more so if reference is made to the Jewish combination *σοφοί* — *γραμματεῖς* (Hebrew *חכמים* — *סופרים*)³ which was current at the time.⁴ The fact that a great number of Jewish references and a corresponding lack of any Christian references go hand in hand makes it difficult to indicate Mt as the editor in this case.⁵

Finally there are two other alterations, which to my mind have little chance of being editorial changes by Mt. The addition of *ὁ δίκαιος* to *Ἀβελ* in 23, 35 is a common feature in the targum literature;⁶ thus this too, should be attributed to a Jewish tradition. The

as it has been described by H. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judentums*. I have not found his contribution very convincing. Thus the mention of Abel (23, 34) and of the snake (23, 33) is supposed to point to a gnostic Gen. interpretation.

¹ See the dispute between Hummel und Walker: Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 27; Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 25-27 and Mt 23, 34 in loco, when the Christian *γραμματεῖς* are discussed.

² Already in J. Hoh, *Der christliche γραμματεὺς*, BZ 17 (1925/26) 256-269 and from there often in the German literature.

³ See Mt 23, 8-10 in loco.

⁴ S. Légasse, *Scribes et disciples de Jésus*, RB 68 (1961) 328; B. Weiss, *Matthäus-Evangelium*, 390; O. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten*, 291, note 3.

⁵ Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 119; E. Haenchen, *Matthäus* 23, ZThK 48 (1951) 53.

⁶ For the figure of Abel, the righteous man, see R. le Déaut, *Traditions targumiques dans le corps paulinien*, Bibl 42 (1961) 28-48; particularly 34-35; Haenchen appears not to know the targum literature; see also McNeile, *Gospel*, 339.

expression υἱοῦ Βαραχίου has especially caused some controversy,¹ but the most important conclusion from the studies of recent years seems to be that it can be proved from the targums (particularly TgLam 2, 20) that the confusion of the various Zacharias of the O.T. was traditional in Judaism.

The only thing that remains is the sentence ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖτε καὶ σταυρώσετε, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μαστιγώσετε ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν καὶ διώξετε ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν in Mt 23, 34. It corresponds partially to Lk 11, 49, but in as far as it does not correspond wholly with the latter it could have been for the most part from Mt himself. This is clearly the case for καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μαστιγώσετε ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν. The typically Matthean use of ὑμῶν has already been discussed, but there are still other data. The repetition of the ἐξ αὐτῶν is syntactically speaking not very fine; the whole part of the verse καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μαστιγώσετε ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν has not been transmitted in all manuscripts (it is missing in D a); only Mt speaks in this formulation of a 'scouring in the synagogues' (Mt 10, 17; 23, 34).

It is remarkable that the addition ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν in Mt 23, 34 refers to the same context, viz. Mt 10, 23. Those who have been sent by Jesus will have to suffer what Jesus has foretold. It is possible that historical reminiscences also play part, but it is more probable that the alterations in the text are meant as a theology. The persecution, foretold by Jesus in Mt 10 appears to have been inspired by the leaders of the Jewish people. In the added σταυρώσετε such a Christian interpretation also appears to play a part. σταυρώω has become a theological concept. It refers to a further identification between Jesus and those whom he has sent. The disciple is not above his master (Mt 10, 24-25). In how far these last two additions show the hand of Mt is difficult to prove, but since they closely follow the tendency of καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μαστιγώσετε ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν, it seems to me that this redaction cannot be excluded a priori.

Mt 23, 37-39

This text is the difficult conclusion of the pericope. Mt has

¹ Sh Blank, The Death of Zachariah in Rabbinic Literature, HUCA 12/13 (1937/38) 327-346; particularly M McNamara, in his 'New Testament and Palestinian Targum', 160-163 gives an extensive bibliography; see further Stendahl, School, 92; O Steck, Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten, 33-40.

this logion in a different place than Lk. It seems to be an independent tradition, since also in Mt the sequence and the consistency with the preceding are not very clear. It seems to me that, just as in Lk where it was placed in 13, 34 on account of the key-word 'Ιερουσαλήμ, it is found in Mt in this place because of the 'Stichworte': ἀποκτείνουσα (23, 34 ἀποκτείνω); τοὺς προφῆτας (23, 29. 30. 31. 34: προφῆται); ἀπεσταλμένους (23, 34 ἀποστέλλω). The difference between the two renderings of the tradition are minimal and are restricted to the change of a singular into plural (νοσσία), of an aorist into a present (ἐπισυναγαγεῖν) and the word ἀπ' ἔρτι (3/0/0 Mt 23, 39; 26, 29. 64). This addition puts the stress not so much on a looking forward to a parousia still to come as on a retrospective view on the past.¹

Summary

If we summarize the results, the character of coherence of Mt's conception becomes obvious. For what has happened? Mt appears to have known the traditional concepts about the guilt of Israel, such as it was revealed in the murdering of the prophets, and Mt himself subscribes to this line of thinking. He also follows the specific application made by the early Christians. By putting Jesus to death and by persecuting those that have been sent by him, Israel continues its ancient state of guilt. Mt makes this clear by entering Mt 21, 28-46; 22, 1-5. 9, 23, 29-39 in his gospel.

In the adaptation he himself has made in these texts, Mt goes in two directions. He elaborates the Christian interpretation of the traditional Jewish concept and he makes his own opinion known that this all means Israel will be definitively rejected. First of all Mt makes it clear that Israel has adopted the same attitude towards Jesus and those sent by him as towards the righteous ones and the prophets from Abel to Zacharias. We have shown that Mt refers to Mt 10 and the story of the passion in Mt 23, 34: ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖτε καὶ σταυρώσετε, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μαστιγώσετε ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν καὶ διώξετε ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν (while Lk 11, 49 only has καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενοῦσιν καὶ διώξουσιν). Those who have been sent by Jesus will suffer the same fate as Jesus himself. They will be crucified as he was, and they will be scourged

¹ Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 141, Strecker, Weg, 113-115; H Todt, Der Menschensohn, 77 ff. is somewhat forced

in the synagogues as he had foretold. The φόνος of Zacharias (23, 35), the ἀπώλεια of Jesus (27, 20) and the σταυρώσις of those who have been sent (23, 34) are not different things. They all reveal one and the same mentality in the present generation similar to that in earlier generations. Mt 21, 32c (ὁμοῖς δὲ ἰδόντες οὐδὲ μετεμελήθητε ὕστερον τοῦ πιστεῦσαι αὐτῷ) indicates where the deepest cause lies. The high priests and the elders of the people have refused to repent.

In these redactional additions and revisions of the texts, however, Mt only subscribes to the Christian interpretation, which could partly be found already in the Q text. But he goes even further. As we have seen above, in the traditional concept about Israel's guilt in the murdering of the prophets the possibility of conversion was always left open. In the later Jewish writings this concept may have been modified, but it was never abandoned. The belief was that this repentance first became a possibility in the present time, or that a distinction was to be made between the righteous ones and the sinners. But always at least a remnant of Israel would be saved. The most characteristic of the editorial revision of Mt is that he leaves no opportunity for Israel itself in his expositions. This appears from Mt 23, 35: ὅπως ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πᾶν αἷμα δίκαιον; Mt 23, 33: ὄφεις, γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, πῶς φύγητε ἀπὸ τῆς κρίσεως τῆς γεέννης; Mt 23, 36: ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἥξει ταῦτα πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν γενεάν ταύτην. The judgment is definitive. They have called upon themselves the blood and 'all this' will be sent upon them as well. One idea comes to the fore here: the measure is full, Israel has been rejected. Under the guidance of its leaders Israel has let the opportunity to repent go by.

The complete conclusion is drawn in Mt 22, 6-8. Mt has seen the armies of the king and the burning of the city. The murderers have been killed, for they were not ἀξιοί. The place of the κεκλημένοι has been taken by those who were found on the roads by the servants (22, 10). Mt knows that this does not guarantee a community of ἐκλεκτοί, but this community will be of people who have accepted the invitation.

The downfall of Jerusalem was proof enough in the eyes of Mt that Israel had definitively lost its rights. The people who have taken its place may consist of both good and bad; but in any case, in contrast to Israel, they accept the gospel of Jesus.

When Mt 21, 43 is from the hand of Mt, one may add that it is

a people, which yields fruit. When Mt presents his own theory, he always appears to go beyond the Jewish framework. If only he had spoken about the new or the real Israel which had taken the place of the ancient Israel, his elaboration could have been said to be Jewish. But he does not do so. The new group consists of πάντας οὓς εὖρον (22, 10): everyone—bad or good—who is willing to follow the servants, may enter and take part in the wedding banquet. Only Israel has been rejected. Mt has elaborated the traditional material in a way so peculiar to him that one must say that it can no longer be understood within a Jewish milieu.

THE PASSION NARRATIVE

From this point of view the Matthean development of the texts which treat the passion of Jesus can be better understood. In a different way this edition shows clearly once again that the origin of the Mt gospel should be sought in a Hellenistic milieu. As I hope to demonstrate, the most significant differences can only be explained if one takes the position that the traditional text (i.e., the text found in Mk) has been rewritten under the influence of typical 'Greek' texts such as the narrative of Susanna, the book of Wisdom and the LXX of Jer. Moreover, since a great number of the uses and expressions which have been incorporated cannot be explained even within 'Jewish'-Hellenism, it seems to be most probable that the origin of the Matthean edition must be sought in 'pagan' Hellenism.

The texts which prepare the passion narrative (Mt 12, 9-14; 16, 21; 20, 17-19 and 26, 1-5) have mostly been taken from tradition. Only Mt 26, 1-5 recapitulates in its own wording the preceding material and as such forms a suitable introduction to the passion narrative that follows. Before analysing the passion narrative we wish to start with a brief inquiry into these texts.

Mt 12, 9-14

The rewriting of the miracle narrative Mk 3, 1-6 in the dispute of Mt 12, 9-12¹ has resulted in numerous changes in the text. The Pharisees, who are not mentioned by name but who can be presumed to be present on the basis of the peculiar formulation συναγωγή αὐτῶν (see also Mt 12, 14) put the question to Jesus of whether it is lawful to cure someone on the Sabbath. Jesus gives his answer and then follow a few short lines relating the miracle and the reaction of the Pharisees. The mutual relation of the actual differences between the texts of Mt and Mk is remarkable. The question is εἰ ἔξεστιν and the answer is ὥστε ἔξεστιν, so that the absolute θεραπεῦσαι is identified with καλῶς ποιεῖν. Instead of καὶ παρετήρουν αὐτόν of Mk 3, 2 the text of Mt 12, 10 says: καὶ

¹ O. Perels, Die Wunderüberlieferung der Synoptiker, 8-10.15.48.

ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες, so that what Jesus says in Mt 12, 11 should be understood as an answer to the question which has been put to him. All this shows that the text of Mt no longer deals with the original question, whether any sort of cure may take place on a Sabbath, but with the theory behind it, that to heal somebody is a good deed and that a human being has much greater value than a brute animal.¹

If we try to answer the question in how far this pericope has been rewritten by Mt, we must first of all make note that everything here is traditional material, or can be explained as belonging to traditional material. For Mt 12, 10 see Lk 14, 3; for Mt 12, 11 see Lk 14, 5, 13, 15, for Mt 12, 12a see Mt 6, 26 and 10, 31 and par.; for Mt 12, 12b see Mk 3, 4: ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι. The influence of Mt clearly is seen in numerous expressions which have to do with the structure of the narrative: καὶ μεταβάς ἐκεῖθεν (12, 9); ² συναγωγή αὐτῶν (12, 9) καὶ ἰδοὺ (12, 10); εἰ ἔξεστιν (12, 10); ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (12, 11), οὖν (12, 12); πρόβατον (12, 12: 11/2/2); τότε λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ (12, 13). On account of all this one is inclined to ascribe the construction of this pericope to Mt himself. Out of the traditional material he has made Mt 12, 9-14 on the basis of Mk 3, 1-6.

Mt 16, 21

Attention is very much drawn to the fact that Mt 16, 21, in contrast with Mk 8, 31, no longer speaks of υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. We find something similar in Mt 5, 11 and 10, 32. It is not out of the question that this could be ascribed to Mt's editing,³ but on the other hand this is not the only possible explanation. All in all this change in terminology is found in few places and moreover there is the other fact that the equation of Jesus with the Son of Man must already have begun in the Aramaic speaking areas.⁴ There may be more reasons for thinking of an editing by Mt in Mt 16, 21 than in Mt 5, 11 and 10, 32, because thus Mt would be able to refer to Mt 16, 13. But it is by no means necessary

¹ Strecker, Weg, 19, Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 140, Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 44-45, Barth, Gesetzesverständnis, 73-74

² Schmidt, Rahmen, 101

³ H. Todt, Der Menschensohn, 139; A. Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, 99, P. Vielhauer, Gottesreich und Menschensohn, Aufsätze, 57

⁴ See for this in particular R. Formesyn, Was There a Pronominal Connection for the 'bar nasha' Selfdesignation?, NT 8 (1966) 1-35.

that this should be the case. In Mt 17, 22 too we see the Son of Man mentioned a few lines earlier (Mt 17, 9.12), without it having any consequences for the use of the term in Mt 17, 22.

The other changes in Mt 16, 21 are even less obviously editorial. The ἀπὸ τότε refers to Mt 4, 17. Explicitly it declares the transition in the life of Jesus, but the 'historical' reflection was already present in Mk.¹ Mt could have added εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπελθεῖν, but the idea of going to Jerusalem is traditional (see Mt 20, 17 and Mk 10, 32). Most difficult to explain is the missing καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι. A conscious redaction does not seem provable. It is true that in Mt 17, 12 the parallel word ἐξουθενηθῆ of Mk 9, 12 is also missing, but then there still remains the difference of ἀπό and ὑπό between Mt 16, 21 and 17, 12. The expression in Mt 16, 21 is below the level of what we usually find in Mt, for the guilt of the Jewish leaders is diminished in a subtle manner.

Mt 20, 17-19

No redaction by Mt is demonstrable except in Mt 20, 17. When Mt writes κατακρينوῦσιν αὐτὸν θανάτῳ this would only show a dialectal difference from the text of Mk.² Nor is the change of the future καὶ ἐμπαΐξουσιν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ. (Mk 10, 34) into εἰς τό + infinitive due to a redaction by Mt. In the Synoptics it is only found in Mt 20, 19; 26, 2, 27, 31; Mk 14, 55 and Lk 5, 17. Since this construction indicates the purpose or the result,³ it actually lays a heavier stress on the activities of the high priests and scribes. Their responsibility is continued and felt in the actions of the pagans. This may be the reason why also the ἐμπτύειν has been omitted. The Jewish leaders did not hand over Jesus to have him spat upon. They first spat upon him themselves. It is more probable however that, under the influence of the 'Verkündigungswort' σταυρῶσαι,⁴

¹ See also Mt 26, 16. My own position has been taken particularly against Strecker, Weg, 92, Against E. Krentz, The Extent of Matthew's Prologue, JBL 83 (1964) 410 the remark could be made that the ἡρξάτο of Mt 16, 21 is determined first of all by the use of the word in Mk 8, 31. The correspondence with Mt 4, 17 is modified on account of this. Also X. Léon-Dufour, Vers l'annonce de l'Église, in 'L'Homme devant Dieu', Mélanges H. de Lubac, 37-49, attaches much value to Mt 16, 21 for the sake of the structure of the Mt gospel. One cannot argue, however, on the basis of the term Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. The Χριστός here in this place is very badly confirmed.

² B1-D & 195 2. Otherwise the dative θανάτῳ in Mt is much better corroborated.

³ B1-D & 402 2.

⁴ H. Todt, Der Menschensohn, 159.

the whole sentence has been brought into line with the actual situation of the persecuted community.

Only Mt 20, 17 shows a clear redaction. The addition of the name 'Ιησοῦς, of κατ' ἰδίαν,¹ and of εἶπεν αὐτοῖς instead of the complicated ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς λέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν of Mk 10, 32 provide the verbal pieces of evidence. In doing so Mt actually succeeded in having Jesus come to the fore in a more pronounced form as the only active person.

Mt 26, 1-5

Following up the traditional data of Mk 14, 1-2 Mt himself has made an introduction to the passion narrative that follows. Mt 26, 2a.4.5 are strongly traditional in character. Perhaps Mt's hand can be seen in the words συμβουλεύω (1/0/0, but see συμβούλιον 5/2/0), and 'Ιησοῦς and in the grammatical improvement of Mt 26, 4-5, but the parallel with Mk 14, 1-2 establishes the traditional character of these verses as incontestable.

The rest of the pericope, however, shows a strongly editorial influence. Mt 26, 1 as a so-called closing-formula links up with Mt 7, 28; 11, 1; 13, 55 and 19, 1. The addition of πάντας is the specific element in Mt 26, 1. Since Jesus immediately afterwards starts to speak again, it is clear that this πάντας refers to what precedes and is an expression of doctrinal unit which was rounded off a few moments earlier. From Mt 21, 3 onwards it has been Jesus who speaks practically uninterruptedly and the following events put an end to this.

Even more important is the addition of the logion about the Son of Man in Mt 26, 2b. All the authors call it an editorial addition.² It does not add anything to the contents of the preceding logia about the suffering Son of Man. But this fact is double edged. On the one hand because of it the logion can much more easily be ascribed to the edition of Mt, but on the other hand it is also an argument in favour of the vague character of the Son of Man-christology held by Mt.

¹ 7/7/2, which means that certainly Mk did not leave it out.

² H. Todt, *Der Menschensohn*, 138; V. Taylor, *The Names of Jesus*, 30; A. Higgins, *Jesus and the Son of Man*, 99; P. Vielhauer, *Gottesreich und Menschensohn*, Aufsätze, 57; E. Schweizer, *Der Menschensohn*, *Neotestamentica*, 70, H. Teeple, *The Origins of the Son of Man Christology*, *JBL* 84 (1965) 236; J. Jeremias, *Die älteste Schicht der Menschensohn-Logien*, *ZNW* 58 (1967) 167.

In Mt 26, 3 the great adversaries of Jesus are mentioned. Since practically all words belong to the vocabulary proper to Mt: τότε, συνάγω, ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ, this verse too will have to be attributed to Mt's redaction.¹ Jesus, the Son of Man, will be crucified by the high priests and the elders of the people. Mt 26, 1-5 is the summary of the preceding.

Mt 26, 57-68

Since Mt 26, 14-16 must be discussed in its own context with Mt 27, 3-10 and since Mt 26, 47 in connection with Mk 14, 43 shows stylistic changes only (εὐθύς has been omitted; ἰδοὺ and πολὺς² have been added; παραγίνεται has been changed into the more usual ἦλθεν³ and παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων κ.τ.λ. into ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων⁴), we will have to start our discussion of the passion narrative itself with a discussion of Mt 26, 57-68.

The transformation of Mk 14, 53-65 into Mt 26, 57-68 is guided by a double motif: the narrative by Mt wants to increase the guilt of the Sanhedrin and at the same time wishes to bring out the greatness of Jesus. In order to achieve this practically every sentence has been thoroughly rewritten. It is not always possible to pass a balanced judgment on the editorial character of these changes, but since the tendency of the pericope as a whole links up so well with the rest of the Mt gospel, one may not exclude the possibility that Mt himself had very much a hand in this transformation.

¹ The question cannot be settled in how far Mt in the mention of αὐλὴ Καϊάφα has made use of the traditional data. He could have borrowed it in any case from Mt 26, 57.

² It is clear that Mk did not leave out the word πολὺς considering the frequency with which he uses this word. 50/57/51

³ The formulation in Mt ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν can readily be compared with the παραγίνεται of Mk. I would not say that the formulation of Mt sounds more solemn than that of Mk (thus A. Vanhoye, *Structure et théologie des récits de la Passion*, NRT 99 (1967) 140). In any case the ἰδοὺ of Mt associates better with Mt 26, 45 and 46. Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 363, says that Mt 26, 47-56 is independent of the story by Mk. This is connected with a too statistical concept of dependency. If Lohmeyer means that Mt did not have Mk's text beside him, he is undoubtedly right, but there are more forms of dependency conceivable.

⁴ παρὰ + genitive occurs 6/6/9 times; ἀπὸ + genitive is more usual (113/47/127), while the meaning of both prepositions is practically the same. The possibility of a redaction is of course not completely out of the question, especially not because the subject οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ bears witness to Mt's idiom.

The first motif already appears in Mt 26, 59. The high priests and the Sanhedrin do not look for a μαρτυρία against Jesus, but for a ψευδομαρτυρία. Thus the tendency of Mk to call everybody who testifies against Jesus during the trial a false witness is extended to the Sanhedrin. In Mt it undoubtedly refers to Mt 15, 19 and 19, 18. It should be seen as an accusation at the address of the Sanhedrin that they have broken the Decalogue.¹ The theme is developed further in Mt 26, 60, where from a purely linguistic point of view the vocabulary peculiar to Mt comes more strongly to the fore. προσέρχομαι (52/5/10), ὕστερον (7/1/1) and δύο² are words peculiar to Mt, for Mt 26, 60 should be related to Mt 18, 16.³ However, one should not follow the manuscripts which add a ψευδομάρτυρες after the δύο, or interpret the δύο as such. As in the text of Mk, there is a confusion in the text of Mt about the false character of the witnesses which cannot be completely sorted out.⁴ Mt sees the temple-logion as the argument the Sanhedrin seized upon in order to have Jesus killed.

In Mt 26, 63-65 the guilt of the Sanhedrin is worked out in another theme, namely that of the βλασφημία. After the testimony of the witnesses Mt wishes to have the trial arrive at the decisive question. Even if the silence of Jesus may have had a theological

¹ It is certainly not only an anticipation of the false testimony of the witnesses, as N Dahl says, *Die Passionsgeschichte bei Matthäus*, NTS 2 (1955/56) 20

² It is traditional in Mt 6, 24, 10, 10 29, 14, 17 19, 18, 8 9, 19, 5 6, 21, 1, 24, 40 41, 26, 2, 27, 38 51, in view of Mk 6 9 38 41, 9 43 45 47 10, 8 35 (?), 11, 1, 12, 42, 14, 1, 15, 27 38 and Lk 9, 3 13 16, 12, 6, 16, 13, 17, 34 35 36, 19, 29, 21, 2 and 23, 32 The word is 'Sondergut' in Mt 5, 41, 18, 16 19 20, 21, 28 31, Mk 16, 12, Lk 2, 24, 3, 11, 5, 2, 7, 41, 10, 35, 12, 52, 15, 11, 18, 10, 22, 38, 23, 55, 24, 4 13

There is a remarkable large number of places where the word δύο is added in texts that where traditional for Mt. They are Mt 4, 18 21 (two brothers), 8, 28 (two possessed ones), 9, 27 (two blind ones), 20, 21-24 (two sons of Zebedee), 20, 30 (two blind ones), 22, 40 (two commandments), 25, 15 17 22 (two talents), 26, 37 (two sons of Zebedee), 26, 60 (two witnesses), 27, 21 (which of the two Jesus or Barabbas). This procedure clearly occurs less often in Mk and Lk. Mk 6, 7 (in pairs), 14, 1 (two of his disciples), Lk 7, 19 (two of his disciples), 9, 30 32 (two men), 10, 1 (in pairs)

³ If Mt 18 16 should be seen as editorial, see Strecker, *Weg*, 223, then this is a last argument in favour of the editorial character of Mt 26, 60

⁴ Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 92, who otherwise starts far too much from the assumption that whenever a text is found in Mt, it also is from Mt himself. McNeile, *Gospel*, 339 is of the opposite opinion 'whether ψευδομάρτυρες is to be inserted or not, it is clearly Mt's meaning'

meaning in Mk,¹ it has certainly lost this significance in Mt.² The silence in Mt has more clearly become a part of the trial: a phase which gives a greater relevance to the decisive answer.

The greatest change in Mt 26, 63 is the formulation ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ἵνα ἡμῖν εἴπῃς εἰ (σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς) τοῦ θεοῦ. That this formulation has come from Mt seems to be difficult to prove. The concept ὁ θεός ὁ ζῶν is found again in Mt 16, 16. It is a concept of God, which, having its basis in the OT, has found acceptance within the Christian community. It is found in Acts 14, 15; Rom 6, 11; 9, 26; 14, 11; 2 Cor 3, 3; 6, 16; 1 Thess 1, 9; 1 Tit 3, 15; 4, 10; Hebr 3, 12; 9, 14; 10, 31; 12, 22, 1 Pt 1, 23; Rev 4, 9.10; 7, 2; 10, 6; 15, 7. It is remarkable that this idea is not found in the Synoptics except in the two texts of Mt. However, since Mt 16, 16 is found in a context which shows very archaic characteristics,³ this text cannot easily be used as an argument in favour of the editorial character of Mt 26, 63b.

The word ἐξορκίζω is important.⁴ This word cannot be used either as a piece of evidence that Mt 26, 63b is by Mt, because it is hapax, but the use undoubtedly points to a Greek-Hellenistic milieu. The high priest acts as an exorcist, who mentions the living God by name in order to adjure the man who is questioned. The use of the parallel-word ὀρκίζω provides further arguments about how the word should be situated. It is found in Mk 5, 7 in a story about an exorcism. The man possessed by the devil calls out: 'Swear by God you will not torture me'. According to van Iersel this part of the verse belongs to version B of the narrative, which clearly shows Hellenistic features.⁵ In Acts 19, 13 the Jewish exorcists use the formula: 'I command you by the

¹ See for instance, Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 396; E. Lohse, *Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi*, 1967/2, 87; id., *Der Prozess Jesu Christi*, in 'Ecclesia und Res Publica', *Festschr.* K. D. Schmidt, 1961, 35-38, but the reference to Jes 53, 7 is not all that convincing, I think. The οὐκ ἀνολύει τὸ στόμα is the same as far as the contents is concerned, but one would still like to have a greater resemblance.

² In Mt only the first formulation of Mk ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐσιώπα has remained, while καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδέν has been left out.

³ Strecker, *Weg*, 201 goes further into precisely this question.

⁴ See Barth, *Gesetzesverständnis*, 134, note 6. Undoubtedly Mt sees a connection with 5, 32 and following. Also Jesus' taking the oath is not all that simple, see Str-B, I, 1005. For the Hellenistic background of the concept ἐξορκίζω, see further Bauer, *Wb*, s v.

⁵ B. van Iersel, *Jesus, duivel en demonen*, notities bij Mt 4, 1-11 en Mc 5, 1-20, *Annalen van het Thijmgenootschap*, 55 (1968) 13-14 19.

Jesus whom Paul preaches'. Christianity is presented here as the victory over magic. From each word of this tradition one may gather that we are no longer moving in the circle of the Palestinian Judaism.¹ The formulation found in Mt 26, 63b can only be explained as coming from someone who did not have the faintest notion of the Palestinian-Jewish interpretation of what it means not to take the name of God in vain. When the question is posed to Jesus whether he is the Christ, the Son of God, it is accompanied by the most abominable blasphemy.

The σὺ εἰπας of Mt 26, 64 should be also interpreted in this connection. To my mind the addition of the αὐτῷ is decisive.² The high priest has asked in 26, 63 that he should give 'us' an answer. Yet Jesus begins by speaking to 'him' only. Only then does the πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν follow. The stress is on σὺ, but this does not mean a denial that Jesus is the Christ. It is only the point of view of the high priest that is rejected. Continuing the exegesis of Mt 26, 63b that precedes, σὺ εἰπας means: that is the way you speak about it, not I. The high priest can pose his question only by using blasphemous language. It is on Jesus' authority that one should disassociate oneself from it. Therefore he who formulated Mt 26, 63, must also have made Mt 26, 64a. This latter does not mean a weakening of the ἐγὼ εἶμι of Mk 14, 62, but it is an answer to Mt 26, 63b.³

Finally there is the remarkable element of the stress laid on the idea of blasphemy in Mt 26, 65. Not only is an ἵδε νῦν⁴ added, but the word itself is repeated once more. Undoubtedly one should not stress too heavily this variant, if it did not link up with the change in the preceding text. It is not Jesus who has blasphemed God, but the high priest and his Sanhedrin. They break the Deca-

¹ E. Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1968/6; M. Dibelius, *Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte*, 1961/4, 168; H. Conzelmann, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1963, III.

² B. van Iersel, 'Der Sohn', 177, note 4 gives all the other arguments as to why the stress must be on σὺ. He also enters into the matter of the counterarguments. Compare further Mt 26, 25 where a similar imbrogho is found of ἐγὼ, αὐτός, σὺ. See also Barth, *Gesetzesverständnis*, 136, note 1.

³ The fact that the answer of Jesus in Mt 26, 64 is vaguer than in Mk 14, 62 (thus A. Feuillet, *Le triomphe du Fils de l'Homme d'après la déclaration du Christ aux Sanhédrins*, in 'La venue du Messie', *Rech. Bibl.*, VI, 155) is no argument, of course, for dating it as more original.

⁴ ἵδε is used 4/9/0/15 times.

logue, not only seeking a *ψευδομαρτυρία* (26, 59), but also by their *βλασφημία* which they impute to somebody else.

In the story of how Jesus was mocked the guilt of the Sanhedrin is underlined once again in a particular way. In Mt this mockery is very closely linked with the preceding trial. The subject of *ἐνέπτυσαν* are the same people who said to Jesus *ἐνοχος θανάτου ἐστίν*¹ and in the context they are *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὅλον* of Mt 26, 59. This is where Mt differs from all the other evangelists. In Mk 14, 65 the subject is kept vague by the use of the word *τινές* and in Lk 22, 63 they are *οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ συνέχοντες*. Mt begins to ascribe more and more to the Sanhedrin. Since this is done here by the change of a typical Marcan expression *καὶ ἤρξαντό τινές* into the Matthean usage *τότε*, this change may be attributed to Mt himself.² The change of *οἱ ὑπηρέται ῥάπισμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον* into *οἱ δὲ ἐράπισαν* fits in completely: the members of the Sanhedrin are the culprits. The Sanhedrin revenges itself on him who has accused them. In Mt 26, 68 they therefore come to the mocking utterance. *προφήτευσον ἡμῖν, Χριστέ, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε*. The addition of *τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε* could presumably be traditional

¹ In the text of Mt the verb *κατέκριναν* has been left out. Actually it does not say any longer that the Sanhedrin has condemned Jesus. According to E. Bickermann, *Utilitas Crucis*, *Observations sur les récits du procès de Jésus dans les Évangiles canoniques* RHR 112 (1935) 182, however, Mk 14, 64 should already be interpreted like this. Mt 26, 66 expresses what was meant in Mk 14, 64. The *ἐνοχος* never indicates anyone who has undergone the execution of the sentence, although this execution may indeed be imminent. See further E. Ruckstuhl, *Die Chronologie des letzten Mahles und des Leidens Jesu*, 46 and P. Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus*, 26-30. If this expression can have this meaning, the change would only be symptomatic for the tendency which becomes already visible in Mk.

² For the explanation of why Mt 26, 67 does not mention *καὶ περικαλύπτει αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον* one should not appeal to the manuscripts D a f sy^p sa bo as the original version of Mk 14, 65, as P. Benoit thinks, see, *Les outrages à Jésus Prophète*, in *'Neotestamentica et Patristica'*, *Festschr. f. O. Cullmann*, 98. For this special case D cannot suddenly be presented as the original text. The *εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον* of Mt 26, 67 could be a reminiscence of Mk 14, 65 *perikalyptei τὸ πρόσωπον*. However, one does not attribute much creativity to the oral tradition if one says that *εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ* of Mt 26, 67 has been developed from *ἐνέπτυσαν*. For the rest one still has to explain, why the *perikalyptei* should have been left out.

It does not become completely clear, but the fact that in Mt nothing is said about a covering of Jesus, does not imply that Mt 26, 68 should have become hard to understand. Thus Schmid, *Evangelium*, 366 and Allen, *Gospel*, 285. See also Gundry, *The Use of the OT*, 61, K. L. Schmidt, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κολαφιζόμενος und die 'colaphisation' der Juden*, in *'Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne'*, *Mélanges offerts à M. Goguel*, 1950, 221.

in view of Lk 22, 64. The tradition wished to clarify the 'play the prophet' of Mk 14, 65 by the addition just mentioned. The use of Χριστέ in address, however, is peculiar to Mt. The sons of the murderers of prophets (Mt 23, 31) have been able to put their hands on the prophet and now they testify to their unbelief. The sanhedrists refuse to accept Jesus as the prophet and the Messiah.¹

We have said that Mt 26, 57-68 is dominated by a double tendency. Mt wanted to add to the guilt of the Sanhedrin, but at the same time by doing so give more relevance to the greatness of Jesus. The latter tendency is clearly expressed by two changes. The contrast χειροποίητος — ἀχειροποίητος is omitted, ἐγὼ καταλύσω . . . καὶ . . . οἰκοδομήσω is transformed into δύναμαι καταλύσαι . . . καὶ . . . οἰκοδομῆσαι and τοῦ θεοῦ has been added to ὁ ναός (v. 61). On account of all these changes the accent has come to rest on the temple building itself. The text is no longer concerned with the building of a spiritualized temple, which is different and better than the present temple, as in Mk, but is concerned with the building which stands in Jerusalem. The fact is important that δύναμαι refers both to the demolishing and the building. The stress is presumably even on the latter, because not until this part of the verse does it become clear why it says 'to be able'. It cannot be said that Mt takes into account the possibility of an eschatological building of a temple by Jesus,² nor can it be said that it should necessarily refer to the resurrection.³ It is the power of Jesus that the text is concerned with.⁴ The text should be related to those

¹ G. Friedrich, Beobachtungen zur messianischen Hohepriestererwartungen in den Synoptikern, ZThK 53 (1956) 291-292 sees in Mt 26, 68 the mockery of Jesus as the high priest. The reason would be that the high priest was in the possession of the gift of prophecy and this is now reversed in Mt 26, 68 and applied to Jesus. P. Benoit, Les outrages à Jésus Prophète, Neotestamentica et Patristica, 107, subscribes to this view. One would have more right to speak, if the subject of 26, 68 had been the high priest. Now the subject is the members of the Sanhedrin who challenge Jesus to play the prophet, and that makes it less probable that John 11, 51 can be used for the sake of the interpretation.

² Against Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 106. The text does not deal with an eschatological rebuilding, but with a rebuilding within three days, see further J. Bihler, Stephanusgeschichte, 13-16.

³ Against McNeile, Gospel, 399. The fact that Mt uses the term διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν here and not τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ which is the way he usually speaks about the resurrection (see Mt 16, 21, 17, 23; 20, 19) could be used as an argument. It cannot be said that Mt has borrowed a resurrection-term from Mk, because Mk speaks of μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας (Mk 8, 31, 9, 31, 10, 34).

⁴ To my mind this interpretation of Mt is not meant as a correction of a

other texts of Mt, which stress the power of Jesus: Mt 9, 28 (see par Mk 10, 51; Lk 18, 41); Mt 26, 17-19; 26, 53; 27, 11.29 and 42. Especially within the passion narrative it should be seen as a text which makes it clear that Jesus is the Son of God also in his passion, that he is the Lord over the situation and that he is invested with authority.¹

The second change of the text is closely connected with this. It is concerned with the title used by the high priest in Mt 26, 63, when he poses the decisive question. Instead of Mk 14, 61 ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ Mt writes ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. This formulation runs more or less parallel with Lk 22, 70 and could therefore be traditional. However, since the title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ plays a much more important part in the passion narrative by Mt than in the other Synoptics, one cannot be completely sure. Mt comes back to it in Mt 27, 40.43 and 54, of which only 27, 54 has clearly been determined by tradition.

The fact that they look for a *ψευδομαρτυρία*, the accusation of the *βλασφημία* and the derision of Jesus, the Sanhedrin makes it clear that they have put Jesus to death unjustly. Jesus is the Son of God, who can demolish and rebuild the temple within three days. In his greatness he makes it clear that he himself determines his own fate.

Mt 27, 1-2

There is an unmistakable influence of the Matthean usage on the expressions *συμβούλιον ἔλαβον* (only Mt 12, 14; 22, 15; 27, 1.7; 28, 12) and *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ* (only in Mt 21, 23; 26, 3.37 and 27, 1). The expression *κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὥστε θανατῶσαι αὐτόν* has been formulated in conformity with Mt 26, 59 *κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὅπως θανατώσωσιν*. The addition of *πάντες* in light of the text of Mk 15, 1 is a correction of the fact that *πάντες* is missing in Mt 26, 66 (see Mk 14, 64). The conclusion from all this can be that it was Mt himself who formulated the traditional datum of the early morning *συμβούλιον* and in doing so established a closer

misunderstood Mk 14, 58 According to Strecker, Weg, 121, note 8 Mt wished to prevent the reader from having the impression that a prophecy of Jesus had remained unfulfilled. Also Mk 14, 58 is an interpretation of a logion which most probably cannot be reconstructed any more; see Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 126, Strecker has Mt react directly against Mk

¹ Dibelius, *Formgeschichte*, 198, A Vanhoye, *Structure et théologie*, NRT 99 (1967) 38; Barth, *Gesetzesverständnis*, 134, Strecker, Weg, 181-184.

link with the preceding story of the trial before the Sanhedrin. It is the third time that it is made clear within the passion narrative that the Jewish authorities are bent on having Jesus killed (26, 4, 26, 59 and 27, 1 and twice we see strongly editorial characteristics). The assistance they have gotten from Judas in all this will come up for discussion in 27, 3-10 for the last time. Afterwards they will persuade the ὄχλοι to have Jesus put to death (27, 20) and when that happens Mt quite rightly can speak of the λάος which calls down upon itself the blood of Jesus.

Mt 27, 3-10 (Mt 26, 14-16)

Statistically speaking many words can be pointed out in this short narrative which show a connection with the Matthean vocabulary: τότε (27, 3.9), (Ἰούδας) ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτόν (only in Mt 10, 4; 26, 25 and 27, 3), μεταμέλομαι (only in Mt 21, 30.32; 27, 3); ἀργύρια (only in Mt 25, 27; 26, 15, 27, 3.5.6.9; 28, 12.15); ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πρεσβύτεροι (only in Mt 21, 23; 26, 3.47, 27, 1.3.12.20) αἷμα ἁθῶν (only in Mt 27, 4.24): σὺ ὄψῃ (see Mt 27, 24) ἀναχωρέω (10/1/0), λαμβάνω (53/20/22); βάλλω (34/18/18); συμβούλιον λαμβάνω (only in Mt 12, 14, 22, 15; 27, 1.7, 28, 12); ξένος (only in Mt 25, 35.38.43.44, 27, 7); ἕως (48/15/28), ἐκεῖνος (54/23/33); πληρόω (16/2/9), ῥηθὲν (only in Mt 1, 22; 2, 15.17, 3, 3, 4, 14, 8, 17; 12, 17; 13, 35; 21, 4; 22, 31, 24, 15; 27, 9); Ἱερεμίας (only in Mt 2, 27, 16, 14; 27, 9); συντάσσω (only in Mt 21, 6, 26, 19, 27, 10).¹

From this one must conclude with Strecker and Kilpatrick that Mt himself has put an oral tradition down in writing. That there must have been an oral tradition at the basis of the narrative can be gathered not only from the series of hapaxlegomena,² but also from the resemblance of the narrative of Mt with that of the Acts and the Papias fragment, although the various pieces of evidence cannot be reduced to one and the same denominator.

¹ P Benoit (La mort de Judas, Exégèse et Théologie, I, 342, note 5) does not mention the words ἀργύρια, λαμβάνω, ξένος, ἐκεῖνος, Ἱερεμίας. These words are presumably of less importance than the other ones. To all this he adds ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκ as genitive pretii, see 20, 2, ἕως τῆς σήμερον, see 28, 15. Kilpatrick, Origins, 45 does not mention the words παραδιδούς αὐτόν, λαμβάνω, βάλλω, ἐκεῖνος. He further adds the words στρέφω, (but he says 'though it is only here in this sense'), ῥίπτω (only 3/0/2), ἐπεὶ (only 3/1/1), σήμερον (only 8/1/11). Strecker, Weg, 77 gives as the most important words τότε, ἀργύρια, ἁθῶς, σὺ ὄψῃ, ἀναχωρέω, συμβούλιον λαμβάνω and 27, 9a.

² Thus Strecker, Weg, 77 the hapaxlegomena are, ἀπάγχομαι, κορβανᾶς, τιμή, κεραμεύς, ταφή, διό, υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, καθά

A comparison shows that the death of Judas and the field of blood (ἀγρός/χωρίον αἵματος) are connected with one another. The difference between this basic fact and its elaboration in Mt, Acts and the Papias fragment, respectively, provides the arguments for the form-criticism of the narrative, in the course of which, in this case, the editorial interventions especially will have to be discussed.

In any case Mt himself has given this narrative the place it now occupies in the gospel. The connection with the context is first of all set by ἰδὼν . . . ὅτι κατεκρίθη (27, 3). This expression makes explicit something which as such has not been said before. In Mt 26, 66 it is the οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκριναν αὐτόν of Mk 14, 64 which has been transformed into direct discourse: εἶπαν ἔνοχος θανάτου ἐστίν and Mt 27, 1 does not speak of a κατάκρισις either. ἰδὼν Ἰούδας ὅτι κατεκρίθη is the motif of the μεταμεληθεὶς which itself is implied in the ἐστρεψεν τὰ ἀργύρια. Since the latter is the dynamic element in the traditional narrative, it seems to be most obvious that both μεταμεληθεὶς and ἰδὼν ὅτι κατεκρίθη are to be seen as elements of the traditional narrative.¹

Nevertheless Mt himself placed this narrative here. To my mind this can be gathered especially from the use of the words τότε and ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτόν. This addition shows clearly the subject of κατεκρίθη because it reverts to 27, 1-2. If this were not the case the explicit mention of the name Ἰησοῦς would have been necessary. There are other elements as well, which establish a connection with the context. The fact that the amount of money has been fixed at τριάκοντα ἀργύρια is dependent on Mt 26, 15.² The fact that

¹ What P Benoit, *La mort de Judas, Exégèse et Théologie*, I, 342, note 5 writes about the editorial character of τότε ἰδὼν ὅτι, in reference to Mt 2, 16 is not enough it seems to me

² Mt 26, 15 is not completely editorial. The motif of a Judas asking for money (in Mk and Lk the high priests themselves offer the money) may have developed from Mk 14, 11, but most probably the quotation of Zach 11, 12 οἱ δὲ ἔσθισαν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια has been added by Mt. An important argument in favour of the redactional character of it, it seems to me, is the fact that the τριάκοντα ἀργύρια will be mentioned so often (27, 3 and from there in 27, 5 6 9) without fulfilling any other part except of being the fulfilment of the scriptural quotation in Mt 27, 9-10. P Nepper-Christensen, *Das Mattheusevangelium*, 155-158 arrives at a contrary opinion, but he is too much concerned about the historical core of the narrative. The texts Mt 26, 14-16 and 27, 3-10 have been influenced by folk-traditions and theological tendencies to such an extent that they are the last to be considered for tracing any historical data.

Judas received money for his treason is traditional, but only Mt speaks of thirty pieces of silver. This presumably is from the hand of the editor. Strecker¹ argues this as follows: Mt 26, 15 prepares Mt 27, 3 and, secondly, there is the general tendency of the evangelist to give concrete form to what he says. One can also add that the number 30 is not mentioned further in the narrative. As far as the original narrative is concerned, the thirty pieces of silver are not relevant, and this shows that a stress is made which was not there originally.²

One should also take note of the mention of the πρεσβύτεροι. They are mentioned neither in the course of the story (27, 6) nor in the preparatory tradition in Mt 26, 14-16. Since the ἀρχιερεῖς in Mt 26, 14 are traditional (see Mk 14, 10) and since the formulation in 27, 3 links up with 27, 1, it can be seen as an editorial addition by Mt.³

That Mt has given to 27, 3-10 the place it now occupies can also be supported by the editorial character of Mt 27, 11, which reverts back to 27, 2 via 27, 3-10. The verse strongly links up with the traditional datum on Mk 15, 2, but the use of the words ἐμπροσθεν (18/2/10), ἡγεμῶν (10/1/2) and ἔφη (15/6/7) are indications that the verse has undergone an editorial process which had become necessary when Mt 27, 3-10 was inserted between Mt 27, 2 and 27, 11.

With regard to the pericope Mt 27, 3-10, I subscribe to Strecker's thesis that the scriptural quotation Mt 27, 9b-10 was first added to the narrative by Mt.⁴ In Mt 27, 9b-10 itself it is impossible to point out any editorial characteristics.⁵ The argument starts off by establishing the editorial character of Mt 27, 9a. There is hardly any dispute about this on account of the numerous parallel formula quotations. The variant τότε is notable because it is used instead of the more usual ἔνα. It refers to a refined idea of the

¹ Strecker, Weg, 79

² The fact that thirty pieces of silver were enough for an 'unbrauchbare wuster Platz' (Lohmeyer, Evangelium, 377) is, of course, completely beside the point

³ Even if one accepts with Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 30, that the distinction of the various grouping was irrelevant in the eyes of Mt, it nevertheless does not seem to be out of the question that a certain influence of Mt can be demonstrated

⁴ See Strecker, Weg, 76-82 and the debate of W Rothfuchs, Erfüllungs-
zitate, 84-88, with this position

⁵ See Stendahl, School, 120-127, W Rothfuchs, Erfüllungs-
zitate, 87-88

fulfilment-concept in conformity with Mt 2, 17. With something evil one cannot speak of a divine *ἔνα*.¹ Only the mention of the name of the Prophet Jeremiah is, to use the words of Stendahl 'rather puzzling'.² No wonder that it has given rise to numerous commentaries. Even orthodox Catholics have said that there is a mistake here.³ Since the formula quotations of Mt appear to have been worded consciously even as far as the details are concerned⁴ and since the name Jeremiah is found in Mt only (2, 17; 16, 14; 27, 9), it seems as though we must speak of a redaction in detail too.

Because Mt 27, 9a is editorial, the formula τὸν (ἄγρὸς) τοῦ κεραμέως in 27, 7 must be qualified as an editorial note in an otherwise traditional verse.⁵ Although I agree with Strecker as far as the facts are concerned, it seems to me that his reasoning shows some flaws. Undoubtedly ὁ ἄγρὸς τοῦ κεραμέως is an addition to a more original tradition which etiologically spoke of the ἄγρὸς αἵματος in connection with the τιμὴ αἵματος. In the argument, however, one should then say: whoever has added the quotation Mt 27, 9b-10, has also inserted in Mt 27, 7 ἄγρὸς τοῦ κεραμέως. Since the editorial character of 27, 9a proves that Mt himself has added the quotation in 27, 9b-10, the same can be said of the insertion ὁ (ἄγρὸς) τοῦ κεραμέως in 27, 7. It remains, however, an indirect way of reasoning.

Therefore one cannot be one-sided and say that the only motive for the addition in verse 7 is supposed to have been 'den Kontext

¹ R. Pesch, *Der Gottessohn im matthaischen Evangelienprolog*, Bibl 48 (1967) 402, Strecker, *Weg*, 106, note 2.

² Stendahl, *School*, 122

³ A. Durand, *Évangile de St Matthieu*, 507, the note of E. F. Sutcliffe, *Matthew 27, 9*, JTS 3 (1952) 227-228 does not add anything to what is already found in Str-B

⁴ For this see in particular the article by R. Pesch, *Der Gottessohn*, Bibl 48 (1967) 395-420

⁵ Strecker, *Weg*, 80. In Stendahl, *School*, 124, McNeile, *Gospel*, 408-409, Gundry, *The Use of the OT*, 123-124, P. Benoit, *La mort de Judas*, 349-350, we see another explanation why κορβανᾶς (vs 6) and ἄγρὸς τοῦ κεραμέως (vs 8) are found beside one another. They say that Mt has read Zach 11, 13 as a midrash. Gundry for example sees as the original element of the narrative the fact that the priests say 'We cannot put the money into the אוצר, so let us give it to the יוצר'. This kind of explanation has the disadvantage that a tradition has to be assumed, which does not immediately follow from the text of Mt. A theory like that of Strecker does not move away from the text as it is now.

dem Reflexionszitat anzugleichen'. It is not out of the question that Mt editorially inserted an allusion to Jeremiah, because he himself has written 27, 9a. Mt has wished to pay extra attention to what is peculiar to Jeremiah in the quotation 27, 9b-10.

Perhaps this datum also provides a solution for Mt 27, 4. Strictly speaking this verse cannot be explained very well. On the one hand it is an explanation of μεταμεληθείς of 27, 3 which is reinterpreted in 27, 4 by some kind of a confession of guilt. On the other hand, however, 27, 5 shows that there is no confession of guilt which could have made its influence felt.¹ Even more important is the fact that the words αἷμα ἁθῶν (27, 4.24) and σὺ ὄψῃ (27, 4.24) prepare the way for the narrative following of the trial before Pilate. Moreover, it makes clear that the παράδοσις of Judas was a sin immediately after Jesus had been delivered to Pilate by the high priests and the elders.² All this taken together is, in my opinion, sufficient to qualify Mt 27, 4 as editorial. In reality this means that Mt wishes to minimize the guilt of Judas at the cost of the Jewish leaders. They alone have taken it upon themselves to condemn innocent blood without showing any sign of reflection. It is undoubtedly the most important contribution to the pericope.

Another question concerns what sort of O.T. background can be indicated for this verse. B. Weiss³ refers to 1 Macc 1, 37 and 2 Macc 1, 8, but these texts do not add anything to a further explanation of Mt 27, 4. Lohmeyer⁴ refers to 1 Kings 19, 5: ἵνα τί ἁμαρτάνεις εἰς αἷμα ἁθῶν θανατῶσαι τὸν Δαυιδ. However, the situation in Mt 27, 3-10 differs so much from that in 1 Kings 19, 1-7 that it is difficult to speak of a quotation. Gundry⁵ remarks that a reminiscence of Jeremiah must be important, because—and thus we come back to our own theme—Jeremiah is mentioned as the author of the quotation in Mt 27, 9. According to Gundry one

¹ See Lohmeyer, *Evangelium* 376 'Um so bezeichnender ist es, dass nach diesem kurzen, dramatischen Wortwechsel der Bericht mit einem slichten 'und' fortfahrt, wo ein lebhaftes 'da' so nahegelegen hatte. In diesem 'und' scheint sich die tiefe Gesetzmassigkeit zu spiegeln, welche in und über allem Tun des Judas, ihm selber nicht bewusst waltet — eine Gesetzmassigkeit Gottes —, die unbeirrbar zu ihrem festgesetzten Ziele fuhr'

² The fact is remarkable that the expressions τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς and σὺ ὄψῃ are strongly hellenizing, see Bl D & 127, 3, Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 387, Lagrange, *Evangelie*, 513

³ B. Weiss, *Matthaus-Evangelium*, 475

⁴ Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 375, note 5

⁵ Gundry, *The Use of the OT*, 124-125

should not look for the text in the usually quoted Jer 18, 1-2 and 39, 6-9 (LXX), but in Jer 19, 1-13. I do not see, however, how Jer 19, 4 could be compared with Mt 27, 4.¹ If one wishes to have a reference to a text in Jer, one could much better, to my mind, refer to Jer 2, 34-35: καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου εὐρέθησαν αἵματα ψυχῶν ἀθώων . . . (35) καὶ εἶπας: ἀθῶός εἰμι, ἀλλὰ ἀποστραφήτω ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Ἴδου ἐγὼ κρίνομαι πρὸς σέ ἐν τῷ λέγειν σε. οὐχ ἤμαρτον. Here the text speaks of confession and non-confession of sin and this precisely in the presence of innocent blood. It is also important that the subject of εἶπας (Jer 2, 35) is the λαός Ἰσραήλ, which in Jer 2, 26 is described as follows: οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ (see Mt 27, 9), αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ προφῆται αὐτῶν. Mt 27, 4 is editorial and has again been borrowed from Jeremiah.

Mt has not only rewritten the traditional narrative in a histori-fying direction; he also wanted to perfect the scriptural argument and in the behaviour of Judas he saw an opportunity to more directly implicate the leaders of the Jewish people in the death of Jesus. They knew that they were dealing with 'innocent blood'; they took all responsibility upon themselves when they left Judas to his fate. From an editorial point of view the stress in the pericope is on Mt 27, 4.² The betrayal of innocent blood is a ἁμαρτία and this is the theme which is further elaborated in Mt 27, 15-26.

Mt 27, 11-14

The literary resemblance between Mk 15, 2-5 and Mk 14, 53-64³

¹ Other points of resemblance, pointed out by Gundry, are also hard to follow: the elders and priests are positively esteemed in Jer 19. They are on the side of the prophet. In Mt Judas is not buried in the field of blood. I do not see any similarity between πολυάνδριον τῆς σφαγῆς (Jer 19, 6) and ἀγρὸς αἵματος (Mt 27, 8) or between οὐ κληθήσεται τῷ τόπῳ (Jer 19, 6) and διὸ ἐκλήθη ὁ ἀγρὸς ἐκεῖνος (Mt 27, 8). I can agree with the author when he says that the mention of Ἱερεμίας in Mt 27, 9 is meant as an explanation of the fact that the preceding 27, 3-8 contains hidden allusions to Jer., but it seems to me that one should not look for this in Jer 19.

² And not on Mt 27, 5-6, as A. Vanhoye, *Structure et théologie des récits de la Passion dans les évangiles synoptiques*, NRT 99 (1967) 144-145, wishes.

³ See G. Braumann, *Markus 15, 2-5 und Markus 14, 55-64*, ZNW 52 (1961) 273-278. For the rest I think that Braumann wishes to prove too much. The literary dependency or perhaps rather the literary parallel tradition restricts itself to Mk 15, 4-5 (see Mk 14, 60-61a). Mk 15, 3 is editorial. This may be gathered from the change of the subject in 15, 2 (Pilate),

has not been kept in Mt on account of the alterations. Moreover, the mutual traditions, which were still visible connected with one another in Mk, have grown to be a new unity showing a great coherence. We have already pointed out the editorial character of Mt 27, 11, but the other verses of this pericope also show many characteristics of an editorial process. The mention of the πρεσβύτεροι in 27, 12 undoubtedly links up with 27, 1 and 27, 3,¹ but the οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο has been borrowed from Mk 15, 4. The change-over from direct discourse to indirect discourse in 27, 12 could take place at any moment in the tradition, but Mt's hand clearly shows in the use of the words ἡγεμών, Ἰησοῦς, ἔφη, ἐν τῷ + infinitive.

Through all these alterations the changing of the subject, that caused so much difficulty in Mk 15, 2-4, is avoided; but at the same time the point of the pericope is also changed. The use of the expression ἐστάθη ἔμπροσθεν in 27, 11 links up with the other texts in the passion narrative which stress the greatness of Jesus in his passion. And in 27, 12 the question of Pilate and the accusation by the high priests and the elders now stand opposite one another. The silence of Jesus is no longer a protest against the authorities of Judaism, but a protest against their accusations.

This is continued in 27, 13-14. The addition of οὐκ ἀκούεις results in Pilate's being drawn into the silence of Jesus. Pilate does not understand why Jesus does not speak, and this is put forward as a kind of an excuse. This appears especially from the changes

15, 3 (the high priests) and 15, 4 (Pilate); the use of the words πάλιν in 15, 4, οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς (see Mk 14 10, 15, 10 11) in 15, 3 and πολλά (Mt 9, 14, Mk 1, 45, 3, 12, 5, 10 43, 6, 20 34, 9, 26, 15, 3) in 15, 3, the use of the word κατηγορέω has been borrowed from 15, 4 (further, however, see note 2 on the next page), when Mk connected these two traditions 15, 2 and 15, 4-5. On the same question see also E. Best, *The Temptation and the Passion*, 95-96, T. A. Burkill, *Mysterious Revelation*, 294-299. There is no reason whatsoever to say 'Pilatus muss über den Haftling verwundert gewesen sein und hat offensichtlich gezögert, das Urteil zu vollstrecken', thus F. Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel*, 178, W. L. Knox, *The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, I, 135 distinguishes according to his general theory in the pericope a 'Twelve-source' (Mk 15, 2) and a 'Disciple-source' (Mk 15, 3-4). The reason for the distinction in sources is completely dogmatic: the 'Twelve-source' has Jesus convicted on political grounds, the 'Disciple-source' on the grounds of his Messianic claims.

¹ For a criticism of the theory of Hummel, who wishes to attribute a separate individual activity to each group, (*Auseinandersetzung*, 20-22) see Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 29-33.

in 27, 14: αὐτῷ, λίαν and πρὸς οὐδὲ ἐν ῥῆμα have been added. The silence of Jesus assumes majestic proportions.¹ Finally, there is the remarkable use of the word καταμαρτυροῦσιν, which in contrast with the κατηγοροῦσιν of Mk 15, 4 refers back to Mt 26, 62.²

All these observations show that Mt 27, 11a has a decisive significance for the interpretation of the pericope, and that since each verse gives evidence of the usage proper to Mt, Mt himself must at least have been the first one who put down this pericope in writing. One might even go further, if one knew along which ways Mk 15, 2-5 had gone in order to come to Mt 27, 11-14, but I was unable to find the necessary data.³

Mt 27, 15-26

The traditional story about Barabbas⁴ has undergone many alterations in Mt, but mutually they show great coherence. 'Die Barabbas-Episode ist bei Matthäus genau durchkomponiert', says N. Dahl.⁵ The story is dominated by the double question τίνα θέλετε ἀπὸ τῶν δύο (27, 17.21), and it results in the double stand that is taken in 27, 24 and 25,⁶ where the declaration of innocence by Pilate provokes the official self-imprecation of the people.⁷

¹ The commentary of Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 46 is too literary. Jesus is no Hamlet. For the rest the text of Mt does not have the word σιωπᾶω, but οὐκ ἀποκρίνομαι, which is not completely the same.

² Is the use of this word a remnant of a tradition which is more original than Mk 15, 4? If one takes this point of view, the mutual relations of the text might be unnecessarily complicated. On the basis of the 'Formgeschichte' of Mk 15, 3-5 (the way described above in note 3 p. 89), it would mean that the formulation of Mt underwent the influence of the text by Mk in two different stages, namely before Mk 15, 4 contained the word κατηγοροῦσιν and afterwards Mk 15, 3, however, had to be included already in both stages. Or one must say that the κατηγοροῦσιν of Mk 15, 4 has come into the text of Mk under the influence of Mk 15, 3 at a time when Mt 27, 11-14 was already free from any dependency on the text of Mk.

³ Bauer, Wb, s v ἀποκρίνομαι. His references might be important here. He gives a number of examples from Jos. Bell, Eupolis Com. and Artemidorus.

⁴ The story about Barabbas was already a difficult question in the eyes of the Fathers, see Origen's judgment 'iudaico usus est more faciens non secundum aliquem consuetudinem romanorum' (quoted by E. Bickermann, *Utilitas crucis*, RHR 112 (1935) 236, note 1). Origen wishes to explain the story against the background of 1 Sam 14, 44. In Mt, however, there is no longer any need to explain the figure of Barabbas, because when he writes, it is a matter of course that it is traditional.

⁵ N. Dahl, *Die Passionsgeschichte bei Matthäus*, NTS 2 (1955/56) 26.

⁶ Trilling, *Wahre Israel*, 66.

⁷ Strecker, *Weg*, 115.

Under the leadership of the high priests and the elders an innocent man is put to death and a notorious prisoner is set free.

Mt 27, 24: ἀθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τούτου evokes an important reminiscence of Sus 46 (Theod): ἀθῶός ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ταύτης.¹ If this expression were the only allusion to the story of Susanna, it would not be worth-while to dwell long on this resemblance. Superficially there is hardly any resemblance between Mt 27, 15-26 and Susanna, but things change if one reads in Sus 53 the accusation of Daniel at the address of the first elder: κρίνων κρίσεις ἀδίκους καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀθῶους κατακρίνων ἀπολύων δὲ τοὺς αἰτίους, λέγοντος τοῦ κυρίου Ἀθῶον καὶ δίκαιον οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖς. The story of Susanna deals with the question of who is guilty: Susanna or the presbyters. By the intervention of the bath-qol of Daniel, ἐσώθη αἷμα ἀνάιτιον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ (verse 62). In the story about the choice between Barabbas and Jesus there is no such happy ending; rather, it results in an even greater guilt of the other party.

Susanna is a narrative in the Wisdom literature: whoever trusts in God will be saved by him (vs 60). Presbyters may bear false evidence (vs 43.49.61); they may even succeed in persuading the whole assembly, because they are respected as the presbyters of the people and as judges (vs 41), but God will confound their plans. Their sins will be revealed through the fact that a daughter of Judah does not behave like the daughters of Israel (vs 57). The evil they had planned against one of their fellow-men will be visited upon them according to the Law of Moses (vs 61.62).²

¹ Trilling, Wahre Israel, 70, note 27 and note 30, Gundry, The Use of the OT, 144.

² In the larger framework of the passion narrative the following points of correspondence with Sus can be pointed out:

Sus 28: καὶ ἐγένετο τῇ ἐπαύριον ἦλθον οἱ δύο πρεσβῦται πλήρεις τῆς ἀνόμου ἐννοίας κατὰ Σουσαννης τοῦ θανατῶσαι αὐτήν (see Mt 26, 4 59; 27, 1).

Sus 35: ὅτι ἦν ἡ καρδιά αὐτῆς πεποιθυῖα ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ (see Mt 27, 43).

Sus 41: καὶ ἐπίστευσεν αὐτοῖς [πρεσβύτεροι] ἡ συναγωγὴ ὡς πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ (I only Mt knows this expression) καὶ κριταῖς καὶ κατέκριναν αὐτήν ἀποθανεῖν (see Mt 26, 3 47, 27, 1 3 20)

Sus 43: σὺ [Θεός] ἐπίστασαι ὅτι ψευδῇ μου κατεμαρτύρησαν;

Sus 49: ψευδῇ γὰρ οὗτοι κατεμαρτύρησαν;

Sus 61: ὅτι συνέστησεν αὐτοὺς Δανιηλ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν ψευδομαρτυρήσαντας (Mt 26, 59-60).

Sus 43: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀποθνήσκω μὴ ποιήσασα μηδὲν ὧν οὗτοι ἐπονηρεύσαντο κατ' ἐμοῦ (Mt 27, 23)

Sus 45. καὶ ἀπαγομένης αὐτῆς ἀπολέσθαι (Mt 27, 2 31; 27, 20)

Obviously of all these points of resemblance can be said that they should not be qualified as a literary source, from which quotations have been taken.

Against this background the double tendency of the narrative of Mt shows up clearly. It deals with a choice between two people who, strictly speaking, should not be compared with one another; and secondly it deals with the question of guilt. Therefore Mt 27, 20 is a central verse in the pericope Mt 27, 15-26. Up until 27, 20 one does not yet know who has assembled (27, 17). An insistent demand is made for a choice between someone called Christos and someone called Barabbas. Not until 27, 20 do the high priests and presbyters succeed in persuading the ὄχλοι to choose Barabbas and to have Jesus put to death (see Mk 15, 11 which only speaks of ἀρχιερεῖς). Pilate is provoked to sympathy for this just man through a dream of his wife. Fundamentally speaking the choice has already been made in 27, 20.¹

Therefore the narrative takes a fatal turn from Mt 27, 21 onwards. Once again—and this more clearly—the demand for a choice is made, but what was decided by the Sanhedrin in Mt 26, 66 and 27, 1 is now taken over by the whole people πάντες in 27, 22 and πᾶς ὁ λαός in 27, 25. The Jewish people are persuaded by their high priests and presbyters to make a choice against Jesus, the Christ.

The tendency to increase the guilt of the Jews and to increase the innocence of Pilate is elaborated even more. In contrast to Mk 15, 9.12 Jesus is no longer spoken about as the βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, for in Mt this term for Jesus is used by the pagans only (2, 2 by the magi; 27, 1 by Pilate, 27, 29 by the soldiers of the

They make clear that the story of Susanna could have provided and probably did provide the pattern for the passion narrative

¹ Trilling, *Wahre Israel*, 67 sees in Mt 27, 19 two traditions meeting. The μηδὲν σοὶ καὶ δικαίῳ ἐκείνῳ cannot be combined with the ἐπαθὼν δι' αὐτόν. He thinks that Mt is responsible for the introduction of the δίκαιος-concept. Since this concept counts heavily within the entirety of the alterations which the traditional Barabbas story has undergone under the influence of the Susanna story, this is one of the arguments for attributing this 'relecture biblique' to Mt.

We find pure nonsense the attempts of J. Bligh, *Typology in the Passion Narrative*. Daniel, Elijah, Melchizedek, Heythrop Journ. 6 (1965) 305 when he discusses this verse ('There is a strong hint in Mt 27, 19 that Pilate had not slept with his wife on the night before the trial') in order to create a resemblance with Daniel. To my mind, even Dr. Farrer is too sophisticated to indulge in such thoughts (see page 203 of the article mentioned here). Very disappointing too for the exegesis is the study by E. Fascher, *Das Weib des Pilatus*, Halle, 1951. He takes stock of what various exegetes have said about this verse, but he gets too involved in the metaphysical and psychological line he believes he has discovered in the history of the exegesis.

governor; 27, 37 in the inscription on the cross).¹ The form of address has been omitted in Mt 27, 15-16 because it deals with a choice made by the Jews. By using the 3rd. person singular passive of σταυρωθῆτω (see par. in Mk and Lk) the share of the Jews in the crucifixion is also increased as much as possible and that of the Romans correspondingly reduced as much as possible. With some reservations the alternative use of the aorist, present, and imperfect in 27, 21-23 could also be placed in this context.² The aorist is used in 27, 21 with respect to the stand towards Barabbas; then there is a change into the present historical in 27, 22 in the description of the rejection of Jesus. Pilate insists in 27, 23 (aorist, to indicate that it happens only once), but the people abide by the answer they have already given (imperfect to indicate continued action). The demand for Barabbas is in the aorist, but the rejection of Jesus is continuative and present.

All this is a literary prelude to Mt 27, 24-25. The ὑμεῖς ὤψεσθε (27, 24) refers to the σὺ ὄψῃ to Judas (27, 4). It will be impossible to appeal to someone else. According to Mt the fate of Judas is the prototype of the fate awaiting the people. The history of the Jewish people has already been prefigured in the story about the blood-money. Mt 27, 25 is the official expression of what has been under discussion a great number of times in the story itself.³ The pagans are no party to it. The anti-Jewish tendency of the narrative works in favour of the pagans.

¹ Strecker, Weg, 116, note 6.

² X. Léon-Dufour, Mt et Mc dans le récit de la Passion, St Bibl. et Orient, II, 1959, 121 thinks he has found an indication of the oral tradition in the change of the tenses.

³ The concept and the use of the word λαός is expressly discussed by Strecker, Weg, 115-116, J. M. Gibbs, Purpose and Pattern in Matthew's Use of the Title 'Son of David', NTS 10 (1963/64) 446-464; J. A. Fitzmyer, Anti-Semitism and the Cry of 'All the People', ThSt 26 (1965) 667-671 and A. Suhl, Der Davidsohn im Matthäus-Evangelium, ZNW 59 (1968) 57-81. The expression πᾶς ὁ λαός in 27, 25 should be taken as a religious term. A. Suhl is undoubtedly right when he objects against Gibbs that the concept οἱ ἔχθροι does not show any growth towards lesser or greater hostility towards Jesus. On the other hand, however, Suhl exaggerates the editorial character of the Matthean use of λαός. He says 'Because Mt omits the word λαός in 9, 35, Mt achieves this effect that he mentions the 'people' only at the beginning and at the end of the activity of Jesus (viz 4, 23 and 27, 25)'. However, it seems to me that Mt could have been a little clearer on this point by deleting the concept λαός in his gospel both before 4, 23 and after 27, 25. The argumentation of Suhl seems to be a little too subtle, see further chapter 6.

The question about the editorial activity of Mt must be answered as well. Since there is such a great coherence in the whole pericope, it is difficult to point out any concrete places. One would have to start by saying that Mt has written the whole narrative whenever the most important concepts can be attributed to Mt with some degree of probability. And without any doubt this happens to be the case. One might point out vs. 17: *συνηγμένων οὖν αὐτῶν*; vs. 19: Jesus as *δίκαιος*; vs. 20: the expression *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*; vs. 21: *τίνα τῶν δύο*; vs. 22 (vs. 17): *Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος χριστός* (see Mt 1, 16 especially); vs. 24-25: the combination of *ἄθως* and *αἷμα* (see 27, 4).

All this means that the influence of Mt must have been great. The least that can be said is that he was the first to give a written form to this narrative. Whether he also had a hand in the transformation of Mk 15, 6-15 into Mt 27, 15-26 under the influence of the story of Susanna can no longer be ascertained. The O.T. background which we have pointed out cannot be qualified as a literary source on which Mt 27, 15-26 should have depended, as if Mt 27, 15-26 should have come into existence by a combination of Mk 15, 6-15 and Sus. The narrative of Susanna is a 'traditions-geschichtliche' layer, by means of which Mk 15, 6-15 has transformed into the present narrative.¹

Mt 27, 38-44

Editorially the stress is on the mocking rejection of the Jewish authorities that Jesus is the Son of God.² The references to Mt 26, 57-68 make it clear that according to Mt the Jewish leaders refused to accept Jesus as the Son of God, and for that reason they put him to death. Therefore it is not completely without importance that the *πρεσβύτεροι* have been added in 27, 41. Mt (or the tradition before him) wanted all the Jewish authorities to be present under the cross.

The connection with the story of the trial of Jesus is found particularly in Mt 27, 40 and 27, 43. Since the *οὐά* has been omitted

¹ This O T background reveals in any case the Hellenistic character of the milieu where the Mt gospel came into being. Even if one denies that Mt himself has changed the tradition of Mk 15, 6-15 under the inspiration of Sus in Mt 27, 15-26, one will have to accept all the same that the alteration took place in an environment where the story about Susanna was well known.

² See A. Vanhoye, *Structure et théologie*, NRT 99 (1967) 159.

in 27, 40, the temple-logion stands out more clearly. Now it is immediately connected with the σῶσον σεαυτόν and appeals to him who earlier has presented himself in the temple logion as the miracle-worker. The addition εἰ υἱὸς εἰ τοῦ θεοῦ is directly linked up with it. It is even clearer in 27, 43: εἶπεν γὰρ ὅτι θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός. Mt 26, 61 and 63 are connected in the passion narrative. In spite of the fact that both 27, 40 and 27, 43 are mutually an argument for the editorial character of the addition, it is still not out of the question that both are editorial, because both could have been derived from the traditional Mt 27, 54 (see Mk 15, 39).¹ The pagans (in Mt the centurion and all the others who together with him guard Jesus; they are the same as those who crucified and mocked him, i.e., οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ ἡγεμόνος; see also 27, 27.35.36.54) profess what is being mocked by the Jewish leaders. The Jews are represented by passers-by (?), the high priests, the scribes and the elders. A clear stand is taken in favour of the pagans and against the leaders of Judaism.²

Since the pericope is dominated by the stress on the title υἱὸς θεοῦ, it is also clear that especially Wisdom 2 and 5, 4-5 have had a decisive influence on the edition of the traditional story.³ There is a general consensus of opinion among the authors on this point,⁴ although one should not think of a literary dependency, but rather of a 'traditionsgeschichtliche' layer.

Summary

As we have shown, the strong anti-Jewish character of the

¹ The association of the idea υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ with βασιλεύς is not Jewish, as J. Bieneck, *Sohn Gottes*, 55, note 31 believes

² The omission of the title ὁ Χριστός in 27, 42 can hardly be attributed to the redaction by Mt, because in the eyes of Mt the title would have been a perfect description of Jesus' dignity, which in the framework of a mocking word should not be misused, as J. Schreiber, *Theologie des Vertrauens*, 52, thinks. After all the use of the title Χριστέ in Mt 26, 68 is not meant either as an homage. To my mind it is not altogether out of the question that one should rather think of a redaction by Mk, such as the sort applying to the καὶ ἰδόμεν of Mk 15, 32; see further J. Schreiber, *Theologie des Vertrauens*, 24-27

³ This presumably also applies to the quotation in Mt 27, 43, see Stendahl, *School*, 140-141.

⁴ Extensively in Th. de Kruyf, *Sohn des lebendigen Gottes*, 101-103; see also P. Benoit, *La mort de Judas*, *Exégèse et Théologie*, I, 346; H. Holtzmann, *Handcommentar*, 294-295, B. van Iersel, 'Der Sohn', 177, note 1. For the dilemma as conceived by P. van Stempvoort, this theory could offer a beautiful solution, see 'Gods Zoon' of 'een zoon Gods' in *Matth* 27, 54?, *NTT* 9 (1954/55) 79-89

passion narrative of Mt is very much defined in its literary aspects: Jer, Sus, Wisdom. The literary character of these alterations, together with the Christian dogmatism (see 26, 61.63.64; 27, 11-14; 27, 38-44) does not allow us to think, as Hummel does in his exposition, of a historical interest of Mt as the explanation of the anti-Jewish tendency of the whole. However, neither does the explanation by Strecker, who sees the redaction by Mt as an attempt to historicise the 'Leben Jesu', offer any perspectives for the passion narrative. Mt is not stronger in his anti-Judaism than the other evangelists, because he rethinks the past. If we survey the texts several tendencies appear to have acted together. First of all, Mt wanted to increase the guilt of the Jewish leaders. The Sanhedrin tries to put Jesus to death and therefore it even looks for false witnesses; they accuse Jesus of blasphemy in a blasphemous manner; they take the initiative to mock Jesus; they accept Judas' guilt and do not mind that Pilate uses the same words when speaking to them that have been spoken to Judas; and when Jesus is hanging on the cross they gather in order to reject him mockingly, as if his being crucified is an argument against his being the Son of God.

This anti-Jewish tendency in Mt, however, often goes hand in hand with an attempt to exonerate the non-Jews from guilt. This is especially clear in the story of the choice between Barabbas and Jesus, but this tendency also reveals itself in Mt 27, 11-14 and 27, 38-44. Finally they profess what the Jews refuse to accept: Jesus is the Son of God. This profession of faith presumably reflects most of all Mt's own intention. The reader of the passion narrative has to come to the recognition that Jesus is truly a Son of God: he knows that the time of his crucifixion has come; he could have called in the help of his father if he had wanted to; he can demolish and rebuild the temple within three days; he stands before his accusers, but he manages to remain silent; he is the king of the Jews, king of Israel and Son of God.

It is obvious that Mt could not take the same liberty in the passion narrative as in the other synoptic material, but nevertheless here too he makes his point of view clear: in contrast with the non-Jews the Jewish leaders refuse to recognize Jesus and to accept him. The reader of the gospel must know which is the right attitude: he himself must come to acknowledge that Jesus is the Son of God. The stronger anti-Jewish character of the passion

narrative by Mt is meant as a kind of negative apology: do not behave as the Jewish leaders have done.

Finally we should point out again that this specific point of view can only be explained against a Hellenistic background. A most clear and general consensus of opinion is found as far as Mt 27, 38-44 is concerned, but to my mind the same can be said about Mt 27, 15-26 and 27, 11-14. Also in the other pericopes indications are found time and again that a Hellenistic milieu has had an active part in the creation of the present texts. It must be admitted, though, that the question remains an open question as to whether the detailed changes are due to a redaction or not, but I think that the decision between redaction and tradition becomes of lesser importance to the extent that we get a better insight into the milieu which has given birth to the gospel. It seems to be improbable that such a great number of un-Jewish customs and expressions could have been taken up by someone who was well informed about the Palestinian situation and circumstances.

OI MAΘHTAI IHΣΟΥ

In the discussion of Mt 13, 19 we have seen that in the opinion of Mt the Jewish leaders rank as non-disciples. However, that was not the only text where the Jewish leaders were depicted in contrast with the 'disciples of Jesus'. These two groups are repeatedly contrasted with one another in other texts as well. Sometimes Mt has borrowed the opposition from tradition, as appears from Mt 9, 9-13. 14-17; 12, 1-8; 15, 10-20; 19, 3-12 and the parallel passages in Mk. In Mt 16, 5-12 and 17, 10-13 Mt makes this opposition already present in the text more explicit by adding οἱ μαθηταί. And in Mt 27, 62-66 and 28, 11-15 we find the same theme in a 'Sonder'-tradition. As will appear from what follows, Mt has adapted all these texts in his own way. Both groups are idealized: the Jewish leaders are blind and they lead the people astray, while the disciples of Jesus are the ones who have understood Jesus. The confrontation between these two groups affords Mt an opportunity to impress upon his own Christian community the central place of Jesus.

A. THE JEWISH LEADERS

Mt 15, 10-20

Within this text there are three points which call for our attention. The insertion of Mt 15, 12-14. (15) has to be seen as the clearest datum. An interview between Jesus and his disciples has been inserted. The figure of Peter is used to lead the discussion back to the original Mk-plan. In the strongly anti-pharisaic answer of Jesus the Pharisees are accused of being blind leaders of blind people. One should not allow oneself to be led by them.

The alterations in Mt 15, 19 are not so simply classified. In this verse are listed the things that can proceed from someone's heart. It has become a catalogue of sins, which links up more strongly with the Decalogue than Mk 7, 21-22. Thus far Mt 15, 19 can follow after what has been said in Mt 15, 1-9. One must perform the will of God spoken through Moses. In Mt 15, 20b eventually a connection is made with the beginning in Mt 15, 2-3: ritual uncleanness does not affect the heart of a man.

A third point can be seen in the concentration of the text into a small number of words. It concerns Mt 15, 11.17.18.19.20:

11a: οὐ τὸ εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον

17 : πᾶν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα

11b: ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦτο κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον

18 : τὰ δὲ ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος . . . κἀκεῖνα κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον

20a: ταῦτά ἐστιν τὰ κοινοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον

18 : ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ἐξέρχεται

19 : ἐκ γὰρ τῆς καρδίας ἐξέρχονται

It is not that which goes into the mouth that defiles a man; those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart and they defile the man.

To make any judgment about the editorial character of this pericope requires a treatment point by point. Generally speaking there is a unanimity of scholarly opinion as far as Mt 15, 12-14 is concerned. In spite of the fact that Jeremias believes that Mt 15, 14 in particular originally referred to the Pharisees,¹ the 'Redaktions-geschichtler' think the application to the Pharisees to be editorial.² To support this theory they refer to the fact that Mt 15, 12-14 is an insertion in a Mk-'Vorlage' and that the introductory and the linking sentences in particular (Mt 15, 12a and 15, 15a) are typically Matthean: τότε, προσέρχομαι, the contrast between Ἰησοῦς and οἱ μαθηταί, the combination of the words προσέρχομαι and λέγω,³ the figure of Peter as the spokesman of the disciples,⁴ the expression ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτοῖς.⁵

It is remarkable, however, that in Mt 15, 12b the text speaks only of οἱ φαρισαῖοι, while according to Mt 15, 1 both φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς were present. It is therefore hardly probable that Mt 15, 12b is editorially from Mt, even more so because further in the sentence we find hardly any typical Matthean expressions. The same holds good for Mt 15, 13-14. Mt may have added ἄφετε αὐτούς.

¹ J. Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 167

² Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 152, Strecker, *Weg*, 139, Barth, *Gesetzes-verstandnis*, 82

³ Held, *Matthaus als Interpret*, 215

⁴ Strecker, *Weg*, 198-206 and the criticism of it in Bornkamm, *Auferstandene*, 301, note 2

⁵ See Mt 22, 1, p 51.

τυφλοί εἰσιν ὁδηγοί [τυφλῶν].¹ For the rest, however, everything is traditional material, as can be gathered from Lk 6, 39 and from the general character of Mt 15, 13.

Mt has used traditional material in order to express his own thought. The terms φυτεύω and ἐκρίζω express the salvation and the judgment by God.² The Pharisees represent the negative aspect of the divine salvation-economy: they have become the prototypes of the rejection. They are blind leaders. As far as the Torah is concerned they have lost their authority. Whoever clings to them, will be rooted up and will fall into the pit. A judgment more negative than this about the relationship between the synagogue and the ecclesia cannot be formulated, the more so because the people are at the same time presented as being blind. The people and their leaders are one in their blindness.

It cannot be ascertained in how far Mt is the author of Mt 15, 19. The verse links up with Mk 7, 21-22, but it is also clear that there has been an influence by the Decalogue. In its combination with Mt 15, 20 the Decalogue appears to have a surplus value compared to other commandments. However, this cannot be called typically Christian. Philo, too, says that οἱ δεκαλογοί are κεφαλαία νομῶν. And it can be gathered from the fact that the Decalogue was originally incorporated into the shemah, into the mezuzah and into the tefillim that also Orthodox Judaism gave it a very special place.³ Christianity and the Jewish sects share the notion that the Decalogue retains its value in contrast to the other commandments, as can be gathered from the Didaskalia and the Jalamdenu.⁴ What I wish to say is this: Mt 15, 19-20 is possibly one of the phases in the process during the course of which Christianity and Judaism grow away from one another; but it is not, as Strecker believes, a text which shows how remote the editor is from Judaism.

The last group of alterations concerns the concentration of the

¹ This may be gathered from the fact that only Mt speaks about the Jewish leaders as ὁδηγοί τυφλοί and from the fact that he elaborates this theme in Mt 23, 16 ff

² Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 152; see also J Jeremias, Gleichnisse, 77, note 6

³ Although the Decalogue has disappeared from the Jewish prayers, attempts to give it its original place are not lacking, see W Bacher, Die Agada der babylonischen Amoraer, Hildesheim, 1967, 84 88 146

⁴ See for this H Schneider, Der Dekalog in den Phylakterien von Qumran, BZ 3 (1959) 18-31.

text into a limited number of words. The fact that in Mt 15, 10-20 another procedure is followed, one that is different from the procedure in Mt 15, 1-6, is to my mind an argument against the editorial character of the alterations. The double sentences Mk 7, 15-17. 18-20 have been kept. Mt even has Jesus speak about the lack of understanding in the disciples. Likewise, the use of the word *παράβολή* has become ambiguous. Only through a reading the text of Mk is it clear that it is meant to refer to being clean or unclean. In the text of Mt, however, it first of all refers to the parable about the one blind man who leads another blind man, although no attention is paid to it in the rest of the text.¹

The text of Mt 15, 10-20 has been the occasion for numerous, divergent commentaries. Thus Walker writes: 'Eindrucksvoll illustriert der Text unsere These von der Einheit Israel mit seinem Repräsentanten bei Matthäus'.² The Pharisees and the people they lead face the same judgment. Not one word is said about the salvation of Israel. The two positions can be distinguished at a glance: Israel which defends its own human traditions, and Jesus, who protects God's commandment and God's word. Jesus finds himself set against Israel and refuses to speak of reconciliation. For the gospel-writer the debate about the Law has become an occasion to have Jesus give his inevitable verdict on Israel. Mt himself is 'jenseits' of the tradition of the scribes. That tradition was something that concerned the Israel of that time. Now this tradition has been rendered obsolete by the Messiah through the commandment and the word of God.³

Walker, however, is not the only one who finds his own thesis confirmed by this pericope. Hummel for example ⁴ arrives at a conclusion which is the direct opposite. Mt does not wish to separate the church from Judaism; he only wishes to point out its specific place. He takes up the disputes in his gospel only because he wishes to get to a halachah which can distinguish his church from Judaism. The tradition of the scribes fundamentally retains its authority, but Jesus himself can make a decision which has a place of its own within the framework of the Law. Mt wants to present Jesus as a

1 Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 249

2 Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 41

3 Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 140-142

4 Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 46-49.

Jewish rabbi who occupies a special place among the interpreters of the Law.

Barth¹ also believes that Mt does not reject the rabbinic tradition as such. The individual stand taken by the gospel-writer has to be sought in Mt 15, 20. That verse, however, cannot be said to express a direct opposition to the rabbinic tradition; rather, a contrast is suggested with the transgression of the commandments mentioned in verse 19. The keeping of these commandments is more important than washing one's hands. Mt presents Jesus as someone who knows how to interpret the Torah. Jesus, however, does so in a way different from the Jewish interpretation of the Law. The principle used by him in his own interpretation is the commandment of charity. By taking a critical stand with respect to the Torah Jesus therefore breaks through the whole rabbinic concept of the tradition.

On the other hand, however, Strecker says that the dispute in Mt 15, 10-20 clearly shows how remote the editor is from Judaism.² The redactional motives show up even more if one sees the differences between this text and Mk 7, 1-23. The insertion of Mt 15, 12-14 has strengthened the anti-Jewish polemic. Since the catalogue of sins (as compared with Mk 7, 21-22) is more closely related to the Decalogue, the ethical significance is accentuated. The stress is more clearly on a 'Christian' ethics in contrast to ceremonial legalism. Mt 15, 20b is undoubtedly redactional: in the eyes of Mt the ritual observance is nothing but a characteristic of the Jews; he himself rejects it decidedly.

The redactional study of the pericope, however, has shown that one must be very careful in drawing any far-ranging conclusions. Mt 15, 10-20 might be seen as a first indication of the theme which concerns us here. The anti-Jewish character of the text cannot be denied. One should not consult the Jewish people, for both the people themselves and their leaders are blind. They do not have any right whatsoever to make any accusations against the disciples of Jesus, for their own condemnation is certain. Since they have not been planted by the heavenly Father, he will uproot them.

Since this datum has been strongly stressed in Mt 15, 10-20 I have given first place to this text. However, there are other con-

¹ Barth, *Gesetzesverständnis*, 80-88.

² Strecker, *Weg*, 30-31.

cepts as well which are more implicitly expressed in this text. The picture of the disciples in Mt 15, 16 is completely defined by the traditional concept from Mk, i. e., they fail to understand. It is therefore the more remarkable that in Mt 15, 16: ὁ δὲ εἶπεν does not say to whom Jesus is speaking (see Mk 7, 18 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς). This agrees with Mt 15, 13: ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν. Those who hear Jesus are not restricted to the disciples who were present at the time; they include everybody who listens to Mt's gospel. In the conception of Mt the answer of Jesus has an everlasting meaning.

The redactional adaptation of Mk 7, 1-23 is made by Mt in order to show the reader how this is possible. Jesus has taught us how to distinguish between the παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων and the ἐντολὴ τοῦ θεοῦ. He does not rely on his own authority, but on the authority found in the word of God. Jesus points out the word of God as the only rule of conduct. The special conclusion Mt 15, 20 should be understood in this framework. In the opinion of Mt Jesus is not the prophet who ranks ethics higher than the ritual; rather, he is the prophet who speaks the word of God.

Mt 23, 16-22.24

In support of the redactional character of Mt 15, 12-14 we should discuss Mt 23, 16-22.24 where the scribes and the Pharisees are also called ὀδῆγοι τυφλοί. On account of its construction Mt 23, 16-22 does not fit into the ordinary scheme of the anti-pharisaic speech. In the other woes an ὅτι + finite verb + noun follows after the introductory words. Here we find λέγοντες + direct discourse, while the mode of address and the structure are totally different. The whole of Mt 23, 16-21 has a very simple structure: a — b — c καὶ a' — b' — c' οὖν d' — d.¹ Mt 23, 22 does not fall within this scheme for several reasons.² There is no conformity with the

¹ The theory of Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 41 (following E. Klostermann, *Matthäusevangelium*, 185), that Mt 23, 20-22 is an addition to an original 23, 16-19, is not without some justification. The negative answer about the oath is completely wrapped up in the rhetorical question of 23, 17 and 19; moreover the ὁμνύει of 23, 20-22 is not an imperative, but an indicative. As far as our study is concerned, it is enough that these verses cannot be pointed out as typical of Mt.

² It is of course possible that it has been added in order to round off the number of seven (as is done by E. Haenchen, *Matthaus* 23, *ZThK* 48 (1951) 47): a-b καὶ a'-b' οὖν c - c' - d, but it is not obvious.

terminology used till now.¹ Heaven and the throne of God had not been previously mentioned. Furthermore, there is a structural difference between 23, 22 and 23, 20.21: instead of ὁμνύει ἐν αὐτῷ we find ὁμνύει ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ. There is a synonymous description of the concept that was used before and this was not done in 23, 20 and 21. Finally, 23, 22 is an independent elaboration of 23, 21, because it further elaborates the personal concept in the expression ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ.

All this goes to show that in 23, 22 another tradition has come to the fore which is different from the one in 23, 20 and 23, 21. For the rest it seems difficult to prove that Mt 23, 22 was written by Mt. Since the concept itself (that of heaven and the throne of God) is very traditional and since there is a strong connection with the preceding verses (ὁμόσας ἐν, ὁμνύει ἐν, ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ and the reference to God himself; see Mt 23, 21) it seems to be most probable that we are dealing with a traditional addition to a complex halachah about the custom of swearing an oath.²

Mt 23, 16-21 itself is also presumably traditional. The whole passage is in contradiction with Mt 5, 33-37,³ where one learns that one should not swear at all. One cannot attribute both items to the same author. Since it is not out of the question that Mt 5, 34 represents the theology peculiar to Mt,⁴ Mt 23, 16-21 should, most probably, be called traditional.⁵

The question is now very clear: did this traditional halachah already contain the expressions ὀφθαλμοὶ τυφλοὶ (23, 16); μωροὶ καὶ τυφλοὶ (23, 17); τυφλοὶ (23, 19), or did Mt add them? Since the concept of the blindness of Israel has played an important part in Christianity⁶ (see John 9, 40-41; Rom 2, 19), it is to my mind

¹ Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 142, W. L. Knox, *The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, 97, Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 79

² Kilpatrick, *Origins*, 91 writes in conformity with his theory: 'The material in common (5, 35-23, 22) seems to depend on the liturgical association of the same passage with two different settings'

³ Sometimes authors are found who wish to 'save' both traditions and therefore say that we are dealing here with false oaths etc, see McNeile, *Gospel*, 334

⁴ See E. Haenchen, *Matthaus 23*, *ZThK* 48 (1951) 48, Strecker, *Weg*, 133, note 4

⁵ W. L. Knox, *The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, 97 writes about Mt 23, 16-22: 'The only explanation of its survival seems to be that it was known as a genuine saying which could not be disputed'

⁶ For the comparison between Mt 23 and Rom 2, see C. H. Dodd, *Matthew and Paul*, ET 58 (1946/47) 297.

not out of the question that the being—*τυφλός* is used traditionally in these texts of Mt. Mt himself has given them an anti-pharisaic interpretation by placing them in the context of the speech against the Pharisees.¹ Outside the context, Mt 23, 16-22 is only relatively negative: they who speak like this are blind leaders. Only in the context of Mt 23, 13-19 do the leaders become the scribes and the Pharisees.

We see something similar in Mt 23, 24. It is a saying which does not differ much in meaning from the traditional saying about the mote and the beam. Since one refused to drink any wine which according to the Law had been contaminated by the unclean gnat, the wine was strained; but then they did not see the greater uncleanness: the unclean camel is swallowed. The verse has presumably been inserted by Mt in this place.² Here too the *ὁδηγοὶ τυφλοὶ* presumably belongs to the original logion, but through the insertion in this context it has been given such an anti-pharisaic interpretation that the distinction between the tradition and the redaction is no longer relevant.

Mt has given a concrete form to the traditional concept about the blindness of Israel in the Jewish leaders. The redactional character of Mt 23, 16-24 makes it clear that ἄφετε αὐτούς. τυφλοὶ εἰσιν ὁδηγοί [τυφλῶν] in Mt 15, 14 can with some amount of probability be said to be a redactional insertion. The application to the group of Jewish leaders, however, stands a better chance of being from Mt himself.

Mt 27, 62-66; 28, 11-15

Similar to the conclusion from the combination of typically Matthean words with 'hapaxlegomena' in Mt 27, 3-10, Mt can be said to have been the first to put down into writing an oral tradition in Mt 27, 62-66; 28, 11-15.³ The following words belong to the Matthean vocabulary:

¹ In the eyes of Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 68, Mt is responsible for the concept 'der volligen Verfinsterung und Verstandnislosigkeit der Gegner Jesu', which is supposed to be expressed in the terms *τυφλός*, *ὁδηγός* and *μωρός*.

² W. L. Knox, *The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, 96; Schmid, *Evangelium*, 327.

³ See Kilpatrick, *Origins*, 48; The objection can be raised against the list of words he enumerates as being characteristic of the gospel of Mt, that the words have not been sifted out sufficiently: *ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι* occurs only in Mt 21, 45; *μιμνήσκομαι* (3/0/6); *ζάω* (6/3/9), *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας* only in Mt 27, 63; *μήποτε* (8/2/7); *λαός* (14/2/36), *κλέπτω* (5/1/1), *ἀπαγγέλλω* (8/5/11), *τὰ γενόμενα* (4/1/6) namely Mt 18, 31 (twice); 27, 54; 28, 11;

27, 62-66: συνάγω (24/5/6): (see Mt 2, 4 concerning the gathering of the leaders of the Jewish people); ἐκεῖνος (54/23/33); πλάνος (especially when seen as connected with the parallel words: πλανάω (8/4/1); πλάνη (1/0/0); πλάνος (1/0/0); ἐγείρω (36/19/18); κελεύω (7/0/1); οὖν (57/5/31); τάφος (6/0/0); ἕως + genitive (19/5/11)¹; ἔφη (15/6/7); the connecting word πορεύομαι in 27, 66; 28, 11.16 and 19.

28, 11-15: συνάγω, ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων (Mt 21, 23; 26, 3.47; 27, 1.3.12; 28, 11-12); συμβούλιον λαμβάνω (5/0/0); ἀργύριον (9/1/4) ἡγεμών (10/1/2).

The 'hapaxlegomena', or the words which are only used in this context are: τῇ ἐπαύριον, παρασκευή, Κύριε as a form of address for Pilate, ἀσφαλίζω (27, 62.65.66), κουστωδία (27, 65.66; 28, 11), σφραγίζω, ἀμέριμνος, Ἰουδαῖοι.

In order to distinguish between the traditional and redactional material one should also realize that there are a number of other expressions which refer to other texts within the Mt-gospel: μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας and ἕως τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας are connected with the prophecies of the passion: Mt 16, 21; 17, 23 and 20, 19; ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν returns in Mt 28, 7; for καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἐσχάτη πλάνη χείρων τῆς πρώτης, see Mt 12, 45: καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἐσχάτα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χείρονα τῶν πρώτων.

These are all the items that can be gathered for ascertaining the redactional character of the pericope. It is clear that one cannot speak apodictically. In the entire story no clear interpolation can be pointed out. Contrasted with each other we find οἱ μαθηταί, who preach to the people that He has risen from the dead; and οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς (together with the Pharisees and the presbyters), who teach (the use of the word ἐδιδάχθησαν in 28, 15 is remarkable), that the disciples stole him away.² The almost neurotic interest of the present research into the historical character of the Resurrection narratives, in the course of which one seems to be obliged again and

Mk 13, 29; Lk 4, 23; 9, 7; 21, 31.32; 23, 48; 24, 18; νυκτός (4/0/2) namely Mt 2, 14; 14, 25; 25, 6; 28, 13; Lk 5, 5; 18, 7; κοιμάομαι (2/0/1); πείθω (3/0/4); διαφημίζω (2/1/0); παρὰ + dative (6/1/6); μέχρι τῆς σήμερον (2/0/0).

¹ Mt 1, 17 (three times); 2, 15; 11, 13; 11, 23 (twice); 13, 30; 20, 8; 22, 26; 23, 35; 24, 27.31; 26, 29.38.58; 27, 45.64; 28, 20; Mk 6, 23; 13, 27; 14, 25.34; 15, 33; Lk 1, 80; 2, 15.37; 4, 29.42; 10, 15 (twice); 11, 51; 22, 51; 23, 44; 24, 50.

² See also A. Vanhoye, Structure et théologie des récits de la Passion dans les évangiles synoptiques, NRT 99 (1967) 159.

again to point out how great a number of unhistorical and improbable facts are found in the narrative in question,¹ lays too heavy a stress on the apologetic character of the narrative. Mt 27, 62-66; 28, 11-15 does not wish to be an 'apologia pro resurrectione sua'.

The procedure avails itself of a certain opposition. As opposed to the assertion that the disciples practise deceit because they preach the resurrection of Jesus, we find the actual, real deceit of the Jewish leaders which is maintained by bribery and corruption. The preaching of the resurrection reveals the πλάνη of the Jewish leaders. Pilate and his soldiers have no other function than providing for a background. They can be ἀμερίμνοι, because the High Council accepts all responsibility. When 'even until the present day' the Jews are convinced of theft, this is not something they can be blamed for, for they only believe those who are unworthy of belief. The really guilty ones are they who in solemn deliberation fabricate lies and induce people to dishonesty.

Because of the agreement between the tradition and the redaction, it may be out of the question to project a 'Traditionsgeschichte'. As we have already said, it is very probable that Mt himself has given a concrete form in writing to an oral tradition. Strikingly enough, however, the real point of the narrative coincides with the words that are peculiar to Mt: συνάγω, πλάνος, πλάνη, ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, συμβούλιον λαμβάνω, ἀργύριον. It would serve no useful purpose to try to uncover the more original level of tradition in the narrative. One thing is clear: Mt saw an opportunity in the traditional story to elaborate his own theory about the opposition between the Jewish leaders and the disciples of Jesus. It was his last opportunity to demonstrate in the accusation of deceit the πλάνη of the Jewish leaders.

B. THE DISCIPLES OF JESUS

Mt 16, 5-12

According to Mt the Jewish leaders are ὁδηγοὶ τυφλοί, τυφλοί, μωροί, πλάνοι. One should not listen to them, for the only thing

¹ See for example H. Grass, *Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte*, 1962/2, 23-25; H. von Campenhausen, *Der Ablauf der Osterereignisse und das leere Grab*, 1966/3, 28-30; W. Marxsen, *Die Auferstehung Jesu von Nazareth*, 1968, 47-51; J. Kremer, *Die Osterbotschaft der vier Evangelien*, 1969/3, 32-40.

they have to 'teach' is a perfidious lie. The warning not to listen to them is explicitly discussed in Mt 16, 5-12. Though the text is dependent on Mk 8, 14-21 from a literary point of view,¹ it makes a point which is completely its own. The questioning reproach of Jesus about the continuing lack of understanding on the part of the disciples found in the text of Mk has been transformed in Mt into a plain statement which states that the disciples do understand what Jesus has told them. Since this item corresponds to what we find elsewhere in Mt,² one must infer from this that at least Mt 16, 12 has been redactionally constructed by Mt.

Whether or not Mt is also responsible for the fact that the text has been concentrated into a limited number of concepts cannot be settled with any certainty. Apart from the omission of Mk 8, 17b-18b,³ Mt 16, 5-12 summarizes the text of Mk 8, 14-21 in a number of key-words which repeatedly occur: προσέρχομαι (16, 6.11.12), ζύμη (16, 6.11.12), διαλογίζομαι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς (16, 7.8), λαμβάνω (16, 7.9.10), νοεῖτε (16, 9.11), ἄρτοι (16, 5.7.8.9.10.11.12). The parallelism of the syntactical construction made in verse 8.9.10 and 11 shows a similar tendency. The whole pericope has been very much simplified by it. Since the whole is at the service of the final verse 16, 12, Mt may have also had an active influence here as well.

The rest of the text shows, with even greater certainty, a redaction by Mt. The conscious opposition between οἱ μαθηταί and Ἰησοῦς (see 16, 5.6.7.8), which gives rise to a kind of discussion or instruction, is as much typically Mt as the fact that the disciples understand Jesus.⁴ Jesus is the one who instructs his disciples and in case they do not immediately understand him, he explicitly states what he means. Jesus is always presented as one who is teaching. Therefore, it is not amazing that the expression ζύμη τῶν φαρισαίων καὶ ἡ ζύμη Ἡρώδου has been 'translated' by Mt into ἡ διδαχὴ τῶν φαρισαίων καὶ σαδδουκαίων. The διδαχὴ of Jesus contains

¹ See in particular J. Schmid, Markus und der aramäische Matthäus, in 'Synoptische Studien', Fs A. Wikenhauser, 1953, 167-168

² Barth, Gesetzesverständnis, 106-108; Strecker, Weg, 16

³ Whether or not the fact that Mk 8, 17b οὐδὲ συνίετε . οὐκ ἀκούετε is missing should be qualified as an omission is, to my mind, an open question in view of the redactional character of these sentences. It is not at all out of the question that Mk 8, 14-21 was known in the community of Mt without this addition

⁴ See Mt 8, 18-22, 9, 35-37; 14, 26-33, 15, 23-24 32-34; 16, 5-12 13-20 21-28, 17, 9-13, 17, 14-20; 18, 1-3, 19, 3-12 13-15 23-30; 21, 18-22, 24, 1-2, 26, 17-19

the warning to have no dealings with the διδασκὰς of the leaders of the Jewish people.

Mt 17, 10-13

Mt 17, 10-13 is immediately connected with Mt 16, 5-12. Mt 17, 10-13 concludes the episode of the transfiguration of Jesus on the mount with an instructional discussion about Eliah and the Son of Man. Originally it may have been an independent tradition,¹ but already before Mt a connection had been made between the tradition of the transfiguration and that of Eliah and the Son of Man.² Mt's text depends directly on the text of Mk 9, 11-13, but some remarkable alterations can be recognized.

The clearest alteration that can be demonstrated is the addition of Mt 17, 13: the disciples understand that Jesus has spoken to them about John the Baptist. That this is a Matthean redaction can be gathered from the words τότε, συνιέναι, οἱ μαθηταί, Eliah is identified with John the Baptist (see Mt 11, 14)³; the use of the name Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής (7/2/3: see in particular Mt 3, 1; 11, 11.12; 14, 2); and the expression συνῆκαν ὅτι (see Mt 16, 12). It is a verse which represents the disciples as the ones who understand Jesus, a theme peculiar to Mt.⁴ Connected with this theme is the fact that the pericope has been transformed as much as possible into a didactic discussion between Jesus and his disciples: the addition of the name Ἰησοῦς in Mt 17, 9; the explicit mention of οἱ μαθηταί in 17, 10 and 17, 13 and the typically Matthean expression: ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν (17, 11).⁵

Contrasted with this we find the lack of understanding and the unwillingness of the γραμματεῖς. In the text of Mt we find the addition καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν (17, 12) and (πάσχειν) ὑπ' αὐτῶν (17, 12): they have not acknowledged Eliah and the Son of Man will be made to suffer by them. The subject of these expressions is less equivocal οἱ γραμματεῖς, namely on account of the addition

¹ Schmidt, Rahmen, 225-226.

² For the method and reason for this connection they refer to Bultmann, Geschichte, 278-281 131-132 and the criticism of it by H. Todt, Der Menschensohn, 179-183.

³ For the treatment of the John the Baptist-motif in Mt, see W. Trilling, Die Taufertadition bei Matthäus, BZ 3 (1959) 271-289, for Mt 17, 10-13, see p. 281 f.

⁴ See in particular Mt 16, 5-12 and Barth, Gesetzesverständnis, 99-104

⁵ See note 4 p. 111 and Mt 22, 1, p. 51.

ὅπ' αὐτῶν. In Mt 17, 10-13 one has to interpret the 3 person plural as a personal plural, while in Mk 9, 11-13 the 3 person plural could be understood as an indefinite pronoun. This gives rise to the double point made in the pericope Mt 17, 10-13, viz., that the disciples understand and the scribes do not. It is a specific application of the general Matthean theme that a distinction should be made between those who understand Jesus and those who fail to do so.¹ It is for this reason that these additions can be attributed to Mt himself.²

Summary

Thus the two groups are confronted with one another. The Jewish leaders are blind and do not understand and the disciples of Jesus

¹ For this datum, see J Dupont, *Mariage et divorce dans l'Évangile*, 175-190

² The most difficult question within the pericope of Mt 17, 10-13 is why the expressions *καὶ πῶς γεγραπται* (Mk 9, 12) and *καθὼς γέγραπται ἐπ' αὐτόν* (Mk 9, 13) have disappeared in the text of Mt. This problem is not solved by saying that Mt 'die schwierige Worte *καθὼς γεγραπται ἐπ' αὐτόν* ganz weggelassen hat' (J Schmid, *Markus und der aramaische Matthäus*, in 'Synoptische Studien', Fs A Wikenhauser, 167). For where does this difficulty lie? It is not Mt's custom to avoid ill-suited scriptural arguments. Moreover, one would still have to explain why the scriptural argument about the suffering of the Son of Man had to be left out.

H Todt, *Der Menschensohn*, 150-157, has, I think, convincingly shown that Ps 118 has played an important part in the formation of this kind of prophecy-logia. Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 132, wishes to see Mk 9, 12b as a later interpolation.

Why would Mt have omitted the *καθὼς γέγραπται ἐπ' αὐτόν* of Mk 9, 13? And where would this mention of the passion of the Son of Man have come from? The only possible solution is to be found in the hypothesis that the mentioning of the fulfillment of the Scriptures in Mk 9, 12-13 was not extant when this tradition came into circulation in the community of Mt. In the various communities a different stress has been given to this tradition. In Mk the stress was on the fulfillment of the Scriptures and in Mt on the understanding and the non-understanding. As far as Mt is concerned it seems very probable that he himself has formulated the pericope, as it now stands, which means that he has made use of the tradition which preceded and which was common to both Mk and Mt. H Todt, *Der Menschensohn*, 156-157 thinks that Mk 9, 12b was already pre-Mk, but even if he is right in believing this, it is still no argument against our hypothesis that Mt knew the text only without the phrase of *καθὼς γέγραπται καὶ πῶς γεγραπται*. W. Trilling, *Taufertradition bei Matthäus*, BZ 3 (1959) 279-281 does not go far enough into the matter of the 'Redaktionsgeschichte' of Mt 17, 10-13. The identification of John the Baptist with Elijah was probably already traditional for Mt. At least this is the suggestion contained in the text by Mk. The intention of Mt himself is to extend the understanding, resp. lack of understanding to John the Baptist.

understand that they should not have any dealings with the Jewish leaders. The opposition is therefore not completely perfect. The Jewish leaders are depicted as diametrically opposed to the disciples of Jesus, but the disciples of Jesus are not the exact opposite of the Jewish leaders. Therefore, the conclusion cannot be drawn that in the version of Mt the Jewish leader ranks as the antitype of the Christian and that the disciple of Jesus is to be seen as the prototype. According to Mt the Christian is not a μαθητής Ἰησοῦ.

Mt had to arrive at this conclusion, because his concept οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰησοῦ embraces only the historical group of the δώδεκα.¹ This can be gathered from the fact that he is the only one among the Synoptics to use the expression οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί (Mt 10, 1; 11, 1; 26, 20; see the manuscripts in Aland-Black in loco; and in 28, 16: οἱ δὲ ἑνδεκα μαθηταί; always, therefore, in redactional sentences), in which the interchangeability of the concepts μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ and δώδεκα is clearly expressed. Although this concept is not discussed at length, one should note that the historical tendency is not refuted by those texts in which Mt uses the formulations οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ and οἱ μαθηταί. It is moreover remarkable how Mt has treated the Q-material Lk 14, 26-27 (= Mt 10, 37-38).² Where Lk has: οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής Mt writes οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος. In Lk there is an ὄχλος πολὺς μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ (6, 17) and τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν (19, 37). He who is willing to follow Jesus and to take his cross, may call himself μαθητής, a term which in the Acts becomes a synonym for 'Christian'.³

Mt presents things differently; whenever one is willing to accept Jesus and his gospel, one does not join the group of the μαθηταὶ Ἰησοῦ, but one is directly confronted with Jesus himself. I have already spoken several times about the character of immediate relevancy of Mt's gospel. I believe that in the present theme we have arrived at the core of this idea. The Christian community of Mt is addressed directly by Jesus. It is Mt's own vision that every-

¹ Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 369-370.381; Strecker, *Weg*, 191-198 253-254; R. Pesch, *Levi-Matthäus* (Mc 2, 14/Mt 9; 10, 3). Ein Beitrag zur Lösung eines alten Problems, *ZNW* 59 (1968) 40-56; E. Martinez, *The Interpretation of οἱ μαθηταί in Matthew 18*, *CBQ* 23 (1961) 281-292; R. P. Meye, *Jesus and the Twelve*, 1968, 167-169, 229

² For the concept μαθητής in Lk, see H.-J. Degenhardt, *Lukas, Evangelist der Armen*, 27-33.

³ K. H. Rengstorff, *TWNT*, IV, 462, s.v. μαθητής.

one who reads his gospel encounters Jesus himself. It is this theme which will be discussed in the texts that follow.

C. THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Mt 9, 9-13

From a redactional point of view the stress in the pericope Mt 9, 9-13 is on the addition πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε τί ἐστὶν ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν. That the quotation from Hosea 6, 6 is an insertion may be inferred from the parallel in Mt 12, 7, particularly if one realizes that it is not used anywhere else in the NT. Hosea 6, 6 was important in the eyes of the evangelist, or at least in the eyes of the community he represented.¹ Precisely because of this Mt shows a definite preference for the 'commandment' of charity (Mt 5, 7; 18, 33; 25, 31-46) and this in combination with his christology (Mt 14, 14; 15, 32; 20, 34; 9, 36).² To my mind it is not certain whether or not one must attribute the formula quotation, πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε τί ἐστὶν to Mt. Not only the Jewish-rabbinic character of the formulation,³ but also the introductory formula in Mt 12, 9 and the entire manner in which Mt is accustomed to introduce his own quotations strongly militates against this theory.

As Van Iersel rightly observes⁴ the import of the pericope has been noticeably altered by the omission of αὐτοῖς in Mt 9, 12a. It is no longer restricted to an historical discussion with historical characters, but it has become a directive for the community in order to follow the ἔλεος of Jesus which has been presented to them in word and deed. In my opinion it would therefore be wrong to argue as to whether or not Mt 9, 9-13 should be interpreted ethically or christologically.⁵ It is a paranetic appeal in the form of a christology. Mt has followed a procedure similar to that in Mt 9, 1-8. Just as οἱ ἄνθρωποι have the power to forgive the sins, because Jesus has

¹ Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 97-98

² Bornkamm, Enderwartung, 24, Held, Matthäus als Interpret, 246

³ Str-B, I, 499, W Bacher, Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur, I, 75

⁴ B van Iersel, La vocation de Lévi, (Mc 2, 13-17, Mt 9, 7-13; Lc 5, 27-32) in 'De Jésus aux Evangiles', Gembloux, 1967, II, 227-228 As may be gathered from what I have said, I can hardly agree with the other suggestions of van Iersel

⁵ For the discussion of this problem, see Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 39, Held, Matthäus als Interpret, 245, Baumbach, Verständnis des Bösen, 95; H Zimmermann, Neutestamentliche Methodenlehre, 98, Lohmeyer, Evangelium, 172-173.

this power, so also they must be merciful, because in Jesus the Scriptures have been fulfilled by his eating with publicans and sinners.

The addition ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν in Mt 9, 11 must probably be explained against the background of the fact that in the Mt-gospel the disciples never call Jesus διδάσκαλος.¹ The use of the negative ὑμῶν (see the expression συναγωγή ὑμῶν²; see also Mt 17, 24) points to this. The addition is intended to clearly show how remote the Pharisees are from a correct understanding of what Jesus does and says. It is not intended to underline the διδαχή-character of the pericope, but it again stresses the negative attitude of the opponents.³

Mt 12, 1-8

A greater parallelisation in Mt partially meets the difficulty arising from the fact that the example of David, who together with his companions ate of the shew-bread, was no direct answer to the accusation of the Pharisees that the sabbath had been profaned. There happen to be a number of rabbinic texts, which say that David entered the temple on a sabbath,⁴ but in the text of Mk (and of Mt) they are not made use of. Therefore the addition of ἐπεινάσεν in Mt 12, 1 should presumably be seen as an attempt to compare the transgression of the disciples to that of David.⁵

However, this attempt was not completely successful. It is not amazing therefore that attempts have been made to find an example which fits the matter more closely. This has been found in Lev 24, 8 and Num 28, 9-10. A typically rabbinic a fortiori argument is used: the greater presupposes the lesser.⁶ The real conclusion is therefore found in Mt 12, 6, which is preliminarily the conclusion of the insertion.⁷ Mt 12, 6 is a logion, which easily could have been

¹ See Mt 8, 19, p 128

² See Mt 23, 34, p 65

³ For the other changes in the pericope, see B van Iersel, La vocation de Lévi, in 'De Jésus aux Évangiles, II, 213-215, 226-227, R Pesch, *Levi-Matthaus* (Mc 2, 14/Mt 9, 9, 10, 3) Ein Beitrag zur Lösung eines alten Problems, ZNW 59 (1968) 40-56.

⁴ Str-B, I, 618, Barth, *Gesetzesverständnis*, 76

⁵ Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 41, Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 138

⁶ W D Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, 104, D Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 67-71, E Lohse, TWNT, VII,

23, s v σάββατον

⁷ Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 14

made in the time that Mk 2, 28 (and Mt 12, 41-42) were said of Jesus. And this could have given rise to the 'qal wachomer'-argument of Mt 12, 5. Mt 12, 6 is therefore not a conclusion in the western, Aristotelian sense of the word. It is the supposition which has led to the argument in Mt 12, 5.¹

In how far Mt is responsible for the insertion of Mt 12, 5-6 must remain undecided.² On account of the close connection between this text and the context it seems hardly probable to me that it ever existed as an independent unit.³ It is a much better elaboration of an already existing traditional unit. The Jewish-rabbinical colouring of this text might make it clear that it was used as an argument at an early stage in the debate about the attitude taken by Jesus towards the sabbath.

With Mt 12,7 a theme very particular to Mt comes to the fore: the innocent ones should not be condemned, but they should be treated charitably. No more than in Mt 9, 13 is ethics the subject in Mt 12, 7. It is a parenesis which remains based on the specific Matthean christology. In his attitude towards the sabbath Jesus reveals the will of God, who is both merciful and demands mercy. The stress in the sentence is not on the negative *καὶ οὐ θυσίαν* nor on the possibility of choice between *ἐλεος* and *θυσία*, in which the *θυσία* would be the expression of the ceremonial law on the keeping of the sabbath that must no longer be followed,⁴ but in a different understanding of the concept *ἐλεος* as meaning 'the non-condemning of the innocent ones'. This means that Mt 12, 7, like Mt 9, 13, refers to the forgiving and condemning of guilt. The Pharisees are (redactionally) pointed out in Mt 12, 1-8 as the ones who are able to condemn even those who are innocent because they do not know the Scriptures as the expression of God's will. The debate over the question of the validity of the sabbath has long since been lost sight of. The concern now is the attitude that has to be taken towards 'the innocent ones'.

It does not seem to be difficult to assume that Mt himself has added this sentence to the pericope. This can be gathered from

¹ Against Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 139, note 81; for the Jewish dialects and the influence of Hellenism on the 'Socratic' way of reasoning of the rabbis, see M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture*, 79-82.

² Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 139, note 82.

³ Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 51.

⁴ See Strecker, *Weg*, 32.

the use of the quotation from Hosea (see Mt 9, 13), but also from the fact that the line of thought is broken between Mt 12, 6 and Mt 12, 7. That the disciples are ἀνάγιοι has been borrowed directly from Mt 12, 5. The idea of the condemnation is connected with the redactional changes in Mt 12, 2,¹ where the question of Mk 2, 24 has been transformed into a positive accusation.²

The parallel-texts Mt 9, 9-13 and Mt 12, 1-8 have to be understood as really parallel. Mt has wished to prevent a merely historical understanding by means of the editorial alterations. The ἔλεος of Jesus has a meaning for the present situation, for if one understands that in Jesus the Scriptures have been fulfilled when he ate with publicans and sinners and when he gave permission to his disciples to eat corn on the sabbath, one is not prepared to condemn innocent people. Since Jesus was merciful the ἔλεος should regulate the mutual relationship in the Christian community.

Mt 9, 14-17

In this text another procedure is followed. The text deals with the practice of Christian fasting. Theoretically this was a problem, for the Christian community knew from tradition that during the life of Jesus the disciples had not fasted. From the formulation τότε προσέρχονται αὐτῷ in Mt 9, 14 it can be gathered that Mt himself has established a link with the preceding pericope. Therefore the simplification of Mk 2, 18 in Mt 9, 14 must presumably be attributed to the redactional activity of Mt. For the rest it is not surprising that the transition οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν φαρισαίων into οἱ φαρισαῖοι, which can be pointed out in the text of Mk (Mk 2, 18a and 2, 18b), has been purified in the course of the tradition to such an extent that the simplest formulation resulted.³

As far as the contents are concerned the pericope Mt 9, 14-17 has undergone two mutually related changes: in Mt 9, 15 ὅσον χρόνον

¹ That Mt 12, 2 has been reworked redactionally may be inferred from the words that are used ἰδοὺ and οἱ μαθηταὶ σου. The use of the personal pronoun σου is an indication of the distance between the disciples of Jesus and the Pharisees.

² As can be seen from Lk 6, 1-5, the fact that Mk 2, 27 is missing is already traditional for Mt.

³ The addition in Mt 9, 17, καὶ ἀμφοτέροι συντηροῦνται is much more puzzling. In contrast to the text Lk 5, 39 the stress is on the newness. The new wine demands new wineskins. One has to see to it that what is new is preserved. For the rest, it is difficult to show why Mt himself would have added this sentence.

ἔχουσιν τὸν νυμφίον μετ' αὐτῶν, οὐ δύνανται νηστεύειν¹ and ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ have been left out and νηστεύειν has been changed into πενθεῖν. Since the answer to the question in Mk 2, 19a is no longer given, the transition from Mk 2, 19 to 2, 20 (resp. Mt 9, 15a and 9, 15b ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι κ.τ.λ.) is less sharp. There is no longer such a strong stress on the fact that the disciples of Jesus do not fast. Only the rhetorical question has remained. The use of the verb πενθεῖν is explained in the same framework; it takes the place of νηστεύειν. There is the wish to stress the idea of 'fasting' no more than necessary. The second part of the sentence has been given the full stress: the days will come that they will fast. A certain community-parcnesis is perpetrated which has completely re-interpreted a question which historically is difficult to explain; the question has been altered into a Jesus-logion about fasting. This fasting is no longer restricted to a certain day, as in Mk ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ, but it now ranges over the whole period that the bridegroom is away from them.²

In how far Mt is responsible for these alterations is difficult to ascertain. One should certainly not preclude the possibility that the text of Mt had already been transformed in the course of the tradition and that Mt borrowed it as such, even more so because Mk 2, 18-22 shows a similar tendency. Moreover Lk 5, 33-35 partly links up with this alteration of the text in Mt. That text too omits ὅσον χρόνον ἔχουσιν τὸν νυμφίον μετ' αὐτῶν, οὐ δύνανται νηστεύειν (Mk 2, 19b). In Lk 5, 35 the addition of ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις has laid an even greater stress on the actual fasting of the Christians.

Mt 19, 3-12

There are few texts within the Mt-gospel about which such impassioned literature has been written as about Mt 19, 3-12. On account of the practical consequences, the dogmatic background much too often plays a part in spite of all good intentions. This is true in the exegesis of Mt 19, 9 in particular. Either one follows a theory like that of A. Loisy,³ who sees Mt 19, 9 as a backsliding from a doctrine about the indissolubility of matrimony (such as Jesus is

¹ From the use of ἐφ' ὅσον in Mt 9, 15 it appears that the text of Mt depends on a text which contained both Mk 2, 19a and 2, 19b

² For the discussion about this pericope, see Strecker, Weg, 189, Lohmeyer, Evangelium, 174, E. Grasser, Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung, 44-49

³ A. Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, I, 577-580.

supposed to have taught in Mk 10, 11) into a doctrine which acknowledges the possibility of divorce¹; or one would like to see the *μη ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ* refer back to the preceding *ἀπολύω* and not to the verb *γαμέω* which indeed would make the repudiation acceptable, but not a second marriage.² Both theories so closely follow the canonistic ordering of the religious communities to which the authors belong, that their theories appear to be suspect for that reason alone.

The source of the difficulties, it seems to me, is to be found in the interpretation of Mk 10, 11, which is always seen as a general principle about the indissolubility of matrimony. Even the article by Delling,³ which provides the reader with the arguments through which one might arrive at a better understanding of the logion, still calls Mk 10, 11 a 'key'-sentence, a 'point of view, based on principle', from which the other logia must have been derived. If, as Delling says, Mk 10, 11 should be read against the background of Jebamot 14, it must become clear that in Mk 10, 11 no fundamental judgment is given, but only a first step is made on the road towards the doctrine about the indissoluble, monogamous marriage. In Jeb 14, 1 it says: 'With regard to divorce man and woman are not equal, for the wife can be repudiated, whether she wishes it herself or not, but the husband can repudiate his wife, whenever he wishes', 'according to his רצון', according to his 'discretion'. The logion Mk 10, 11 takes a stand against this kind of matrimonial ethics in particular, or rather against this masculinist morality. It should not be seen against the background of equal rights of man and woman, of the indissolubility of matrimony or of monogamy. The logion does not prohibit taking another wife, but it restricts the freedom of the husband with regard to his first wife. Once the man is married he can no longer repudiate his wife. The marriage-bond no longer depends on the רצון, on the arbitrariness of the man. Too often this logion has been interpreted from a too sternly developed concept of the *μοιχεία*, of adultery, which sees

¹ See for example Strecker, Weg, 132, Allen, Gospel, 52; McNeile, Gospel, 66

² J. Dupont, *Marriage et Divorce*, 136-160, R Schnackenburg, *Die sittliche Botschaft des Neuen Testamentes*, 91, E Schillebeeckx, *Het huwelijk, aardse werkelijkheid en heilsmysterie*, 123

³ G Delling, *Das Logion Mark 10, 11 (und seine Abwandlungen) im Neuen Testament*, NT 1 (1956) 263-274.

every sexual relationship of married people as a transgression of the sixth commandment.

For the time being, however, nothing else is said except that the marital state of the husband also is involved in the definition of *μοιχεία*.¹

This logion, Mk 10, 11, was linked with a scriptural argument first by Mk. (That Mk was also the author who connected Mk 10, 3-9 with Mk 10, 11, can be gathered from the editorial character of verse 10).² He did so most of all in order to provide the doctrine of Jesus, as it had been passed on in Mk 10, 11, with a scriptural proof. Mk 10, 11 is therefore presumably earlier than Mk 10, 3-9,³ but this also means that Mk 10, 11 should not be over-interpreted on the basis of Mk 10, 3-9. Mk wanted to prove the judgment in Mk 10, 11 and he did so with the help of a text which apparently went much further. One should recognize two things very clearly, however. First of all, at the time the quotation from Gen. was used, as can be seen from CD 4, 20⁴ and 1 Cor 6, 16, as an argument against the actual reality of polygamy.⁵ It is not at all out of the question that also the quotation in Mk 10, 3-9 should be seen in the light of a still extant polygamy.⁶ Thus the opposition between the scriptural quotation and the original meaning of the logion Mk 10, 11 is less great than one usually thinks it to be. Secondly, in Mk 10, 3-9 the stress is not on verse 7-8, but on verse 9: What God has joined together, let no man put asunder. The quotation from the Scriptures is used as a theologizing of the logion and this theology is put into words in verse 9. What God has joined together, let no man (= the husband) put asunder. As it was said originally the marriage-bond did not depend on the will of the husband alone. Now this is added: the husband is not the lord and master of marri-

¹ For the dogmatic assimilation of these data, see H. Ringeling, *Die biblische Begründung der Monogamie*, ZEvEthik 10 (1966) 81-102.

² The fact that Mk 10, 3-12 has a link with the literary genre of a rabbinic dispute, as has been shown by D. Daube, *New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 141-150, is not an argument for not attributing Mk 10, 10 to the evangelist. However, it might indeed mean that Mk has been influenced by the Jewish manner of speaking.

³ Against Strecker, *Weg*, 131, note 2.

⁴ See H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament*, I, 38-40.

⁵ An indirect proof of evidence for this datum might be found in the fact that the later text Eph 5, 31 gives the Gen quotation against the background of a monogamous concept.

⁶ J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, II, 243.

age, but God is; not the will of the husband, but the will of God keeps husband and wife together.

I have gone into the matter of the meaning and the 'Traditionsgeschichte' of Mk 10, 2-12 at length, because the text of Mt is often represented as a mitigation of an original Christian rigorism. Mk's text may be less rigorous than is commonly thought. If one takes this point of view, it would be easier to explain how the text of Mt could have originated, for it would mean that the dilemma such as it has been formulated by J. Schmid,¹ is disposed of: 'The text of Mt has a double character. On the one hand it is clearly more logical and Jewish in its structure than the text by Mk and therefore it may be a better representation of the original debate between Jesus and his adversaries than the text of Mk . . . on the other hand, however, numerous details of the text show that Mt presupposes the text of Mk'. If Mk's text has to be understood against a typically Jewish background, even though this Jewish character differs from the Jewish character of Mt's text, the first part of the dilemma is removed, that Mt is supposed to be clearly more Jewish (and more logical) than Mk. Mt 19, 3-9 is based on the text by Mk, but, as so often happens, it is not a literal reproduction. The text by Mt is a 'translation' within the community of Mt of the line of thought expressed in the text of Mk. It has to be proved whether or not Mt was the author of this transformation; it is not enough to appeal to the general slogan: 'Das literar-kritische Problem ist verhältnissmässig einfach zu lösen, wenn die Zwei-Quellen-Theorie zugrunde gelegt wird.'²

What can be done is the following: this theory mentioned here can be used in the description of the differences found in the text of Mt compared with the text by Mk:

(1) The addition in Mt 19, 9 *μη ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ* is already prepared for in the narrative by Mt by the Pharisees' question in Mt 19, 3. They ask Jesus whether it is lawful for a man to put away his wife for any cause: *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν*.

(2) While Mk first quotes Dt 24, 1 which is corrected in the course of the narrative with the quotation from Gen, we see the

¹ J. Schmid, Markus und der aramäische Matthäus, in 'Synoptische Studien', Fs A. Wikenhauser, 182; see also H. Zimmermann, Neutestamentliche Methodenlehre, 105-115.

² Strecker, Weg, 130, see moreover page 17, where the author discusses the problem more carefully.

procedure reversed in Mt. First the quotation from Gen and then the text of Dt 24, 1.

(3) The change of the concepts ἐντέλλομαι and ἐπιτρέπω is remarkable. In Mk 10, 3 and 10, 5 Jesus calls the utterance of Moses about the bill of divorce a commandment, but the Pharisees speak of Moses as of someone, 'who permitted to write a bill of divorce' (Mk 10, 4). In Mt, however, we see the opposite: the Pharisees speak about Dt 24, 1 as being the commandment from Moses (19, 7), but Jesus speaks of permissiveness by Moses (19, 8).

(4) The quotation from Gen in Mt is more extensive than in Mk. The following sentence has been added: καὶ κολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ. Since there is also a reference to the quotation of Gen because of the addition ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δὲ οὐ γέγονεν οὕτως in Mt 19, 8, in Mt is the stress on the Gen text within the scriptural quotation as well.

Apart from last point mentioned all these changes are related to one another; they are connected with the debate between Hillel and Shammai over Dt 24, 1. The additions in v. 3 and v. 9 show this most clearly.¹ Against this background the reversal of the two scriptural quotations can be explained. The stress in the text should be on Dt 24, 1, for this contains the clue to the understanding of the doctrine of Jesus. This is the reason why it is put at the end of the quotation. However, also the change in terminology, as far as ἐπιτρέπω and ἐντέλλομαι are concerned, can be explained very well in this context, for these concepts are translations of the rabbinic terms רשות and חובא.² We know from the Jewish literature that there was a dispute between Ismael and Aqiba about whether or not Num 5, 14; Lev 21, 3 and 25, 46 had the character of commandments. According to Mt's text Jesus is supposed to have said that Dt 24, 1 should not be understood as a חובא, except in the case of the πορνεία.

¹ For the rest it cannot be said with absolute certainty that Mt 19, 3-9 should be read against the background of the dispute between Hillel and Shammai. In the last place, neither the expression μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ nor the expression κατὰ πάσαν αἰτίαν are technical terms for the doctrine of Shammai and that of Hillel, respectively. Corresponding more to the Hebrew ערוה דבר of Dt 24, 1 is the formulation in Mt 5, 32 παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας. The translation of the LXX reads ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα. For these reasons one could not exclude a theory like that of J. Bonsirven in 'Le divorce dans le Nouveau Testament', Paris, 1948 and of H. Baltensweiler in 'Die Ehe im Neuen Testament', Zürich, 1967.

² A. Isaksson, Marriage and Ministry, 121; see further W. Bacher, Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur, 56-58, s.v. חובא.

From a 'traditionsgeschichtlich' point of view the coherence of this textual alteration means that the changes which the text has undergone have to be attributed to Mt if there is a possibility of proving that Mt is the author of any one point. In most cases the argumentation is very simple. From the fact Mt is found to have added *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, the conclusion is drawn that Mt has concerned himself redactionally with this text.¹ But, to my mind, this is wrong. However, one cannot, like Hauck/Schultz,² argue from the general position that Mt always shows a tendency towards radicalism in his writings. According to them one should take into account the possibility that the text of Mt has not undergone any redactional influence, since Mt himself, generally speaking, radicalizes the Torah. We have already seen, however, that Mt 19, 3-9 in itself does not soften anything with respect to the text of Mk.

The arguments of Delling, Walker and Isaksson have convinced me that the alteration of Mk 10, 1-12 into Mt 19, 3-9 under the influence of the theory of Hillel and Shammai cannot be attributed to Mt himself. This textual change had already taken place before Mt began to write his gospel. G. Delling³ points out that Mt uses two different formulae: in Mt 5, 32: *παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας* and in Mt 19, 9: *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*. These can better be explained as traditional variants than as a redactional influence. R. Walker⁴ places Mt 19, 3-9 within the greater frame-work of ideas of the Mt-gospel. It was Mt's intention to show that Jesus rejects the matrimonial doctrine of Israel, but actually if one looks at the text, Jesus rejects the matrimonial doctrine of Hillel. Practically speaking, Hillel functions as the prototype of Israel. Since there is hardly any reason why such a specific knowledge of rabbinism should be attributed to the evangelist, it is much more probable that Mt has found a text which already contained these alterations. A. Isaksson,⁵ after giving an extensive exposition directed at the

¹ A. Loisy, *Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, I, 577; Allen, *Gospel*, 52; McNeile, *Gospel*, 66; Schlatter, *Evangelium*, 73-75; Taylor, *Gospel*, 419; T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 136-138; Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 140; Bornkamm, *Enderwartung*, 23; Strecker, *Weg*, 130; W. K. Grossouw, *Enkele bijbel-theologische opmerkingen*, *Jaarboek theologen*, 1961, 72.

² F. Hauck/S. Schulz, *TWNT*, VI, 591, s.v. *πόρνη*.

³ G. Delling, *Das Logion Mark 10, 11 (und seine Abwandlungen)* im *N.T.*, *NT 1* (1956) 269.

⁴ Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 42, note 7; 137, note 78.

⁵ A. Isaksson, *Marriage and Ministry*, 75-92.

authors who see Mt 19, 9 as an editorial addition, draws the conclusion that it is easier to explain why the exception-clauses have been omitted in the course of the tradition than to explain why they should have been added in the course of that tradition.

One exception could be made for what was said earlier under 4). The addition within the quotation from Gen and the repetition in v. 8: ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δὲ οὐ γέγονεν οὕτως run counter to what was meant in the traditional dispute. At first we see the tendency to present Jesus as a follower of the doctrine of Shammai, but this made it impossible to use the Gen quotation, which is the reason why the latter is minimalized as far as possible. In a second reflection, however, the Gen quotation is given a more prominent place. The addition in v. 8 leads to an opposition in the text between what has been commanded by Moses and God's commandment; the extension of the Gen quotation clearly shows that the husband remains united with his wife.¹ This secondary stress on the Gen text can perhaps be attributed to Mt himself. In any case Mt 19, 8 in its final words produces a tension in the text which can only be explained by an editing of the traditional text.

A clearly redactional activity does not begin until v. 10. Dupont² has provided the arguments why this verse should be attributed to Mt himself: the μαθηταί are mentioned; the construction with εἰ; the use of αἰτία, which has been borrowed from Mt 19, 3, but at the same time has a different meaning in 19, 10; the use of the word συμφέρει, which further is found only in Mt 5, 29, 30 and 18, 6. Mt himself has the disciples react against the severe marriage ethics of Jesus. He wishes to build up a framework in order to place v. 12 in his gospel, but this has important consequences. One cannot interpret v. 10 in the sense that, according to the disciples, it would be better to have no sexual relations. Mt 19, 10 expresses the opposition against the attempt by Jesus to pin down the will of the husband on the marriage-contract. Mt has the disciples say: in case things happen like this in a marriage, it is better to take a (first or second) wife without marrying her. The disciples are presented as profiteers, who do not wish to let go of what they already have. If need be they are willing to accept the theory put forward

¹ See particularly the controversy between J. Schmid, Markus und die aramäische Matthäus, in 'Synoptische Studien', 178 and A. Isaksson, Marriage and Ministry, 98-103

² J. Dupont, Marriage et Divorce, 175-177.

by Jesus, but in practice they know how to solve this problem.

Whether or not verse 11 is also redactional is difficult to establish. According to Blinzler¹ it originally belonged to verse 12 as the conclusion of that verse. His most important argument is the fact, that τὸν λόγον τοῦτον refers to what goes before.² It is his opinion that this expression cannot refer back to v. 10 nor to v. 9. Even if one might agree with him as far as v. 10 is concerned, it is not at all evident why v. 11 could not refer back to v. 9. Precisely as verse 10 presupposes the preceding one and expresses the idea that the marriage doctrine of Jesus is not something that can be taken as rule for living, so v. 11 expresses the impossibility of understanding this doctrine of Jesus, when this concept is not given as a divine gift (δέδοται). The question is, who precisely are meant in these οἷς δέδοται. The contrast between those to whom it is given and to whom it is not shows a great resemblance with the way peculiar to Mt in which Mk 4, 11 is elaborated into Mt 13, 11.³ This does not at all mean that Mt 13, 11 and 19, 11 are wholly identical. In Mt 13, 11 the disciples are placed over against the non-disciples, while Mt 19, 11 shows a much greater openness. Mt 19, 11 does not decide who understand Jesus. The verse only says that understanding the teaching of Jesus is a gift. The combination of Mt 19, 10 and 19, 11 even suggests a certain contrast between the disciples of Jesus and those who understand Jesus. Actually, Mt thus prevents the pericope Mt 19, 3-12 from being understood as an historical discussion. The whole teaching of Jesus about marriage thus becomes one of the tasks for the community. The Christian community is exhorted to accept the teaching of Jesus about marriage as a divine gift. Since this tendency must be called characteristic of the Mt-gospel and since moreover χωροῦσιν has been borrowed from Mt 19, 12d, it seems to me that Mt 19, 11 is completely redactional.

In all probability verse 12 is traditional material. It is a 'Rätsel'-logion,⁴ which, however, in the gospel of Mt is clearly applied to the doctrine about marriage.⁵ The logion is still interpreted by

¹ J. Blinzler, εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι, Zur Auslegung von Mt 19, 12, ZNW 48 (1957) 264-267.

² Bauer, Wb, s.v. οὔτος.

³ For the latter see J. Gnlika, Das Verstockungsproblem nach Matthaus 13, 13-15, in 'Antijudaismus im Neuen Testament?', 119-128.

⁴ J. Blinzler, εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι, ZNW 48 (1957) 254-270

⁵ J. Dupont, Marriage et Divorce, 161-220, Q. Quesnel, 'Made Themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven' (Mt 19, 12), CBQ 30 (1968) 335-358.

everyone as an utterance about remaining unmarried for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven. The difficulty lies in the term εὐνοῦχος. If one reads the Jewish texts which deal with the סרים חמה and the סרים אדם it can be gathered that there is no question whatsoever about their being married. This is clear in Jeb 8, 4.5.6 in particular. There the question is not whether eunuchs can marry, but whether the wife of a eunuch has to submit to the regulations of the levirate when her husband dies; or whether a eunuch can be considered for a levirate marriage when his married brother has died; or whether a priest, who has been a eunuch since his birth, may let his wife have share of the sacrificial food. The descriptions of these men also never indicate that they are unable to marry. Ph. Blackman¹ describes these people as follows: 'absence of beard, soft hair, smooth skin, the urine does not produce bubbles, the urine is not projected forward in a long stream, the semen has no consistency but is very thin, the urine does not emit acid odour, the skin does not perspire in the rainy season, and the voice is soft and cannot be recognised as of a male or female'. The impossibility of having sexual intercourse is never mentioned as a characteristic. Strack-Billerbeck² quotes Jeb 8ob: 'He who has been a eunuch since birth resembles the sterile woman: like the sterile woman made sterile by the hand of God, so also the eunuch, who has been made such by the hand of God'. What was to be rejected in the eyes of the Jews was the fact that the eunuchs were sterile: they could have no children. Consequently, the logion Mt 19, 12 would mean that there are people who, even in a marriage which remains childless, wish to follow the teaching of Jesus for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven. They do not repudiate their wife in order to marry another one: a doctrine which in view of Jeb 6, 6 went against the Jewish Law itself.³

The importance of Mt 19, 3-12 as far as our context is concerned is found in Mt 19, 10-11, which in all probability must be attributed to Mt himself. Beside the Pharisees who put Jesus to the test stand his disciples who do not accept him. Particularly by means of verse 11, Mt exhorts the Christian community and tells it what attitude should be adopted. The understanding of ὁ λόγος οὐτος should be valued as a divine gift. The teaching of Jesus about marriage is

¹ Ph. Blackman, *Mishnayot*, III, 69; see further Str-B, I, 805-807.

² Str-B, I, 806.

³ J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, II, 245.

presented as an introduction into an area where one's own ideas and pretensions are wholly out of the question. Thus far Mt 19, 11 completely links up with those other texts of Mt which deal with the being ἄξιός of him who wishes to join Jesus: see Mt 10, 11.13.13.37.38; 22, 8. In his confrontation with the rejection of Israel Mt develops an explicit concept of the followers of Jesus as the Elect. However, this does not imply any exclusivism, as will be seen below. No limits are set in order to point out who belong to the οἱ δέδοται.

Mt 5, 20

Since this verse is immediately connected with the theme we are discussing here, a brief exposition of it is essential. There are no longer any great differences of opinion about the interpretation. The δικαιοσύνη is the righteousness which must be achieved; it is the comprehensive concept of the Law as something which has to be fulfilled.¹ Although this is done under the influence of the divine inspiration, it is an activity of man himself, it is the human aspect of the fulfillment of the divine will. This righteousness must be greater among 'you' (λέγω ὑμῖν, ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη) than among the scribes and the Pharisees. We find those who are addressed, namely the listeners who hear the Sermon on the Mount, contrasted to the leaders of the Jewish people. The followers of Jesus will have to fulfill the Torah better, if they wish to enter the Kingdom. For with the coming of Jesus the fulfillment of the Law has come, through which, whatever else one might think about the interpretation of Mt 5, 17, the Law has grown in strength. Perfection is now demanded (Mt 5, 48 and 19, 11)² and this shows how complete the required commitment must be. Mt 5, 20 is the immediate preparation of the explanation of the Law that follows. It wishes to prepare the readers for seeing what is coming as the absolute requirement for participation in the Kingdom of Heaven where the will of the Father will be fulfilled.

The question about the redactional character of the verse is difficult to answer. Since Mt 5, 20, like Mt 6, 1, has the function of a 'kelal', the opinions about these two verses usually run parallel.³

¹ See among others G. Harder, Jesus und das Gesetz (Matthaus 5, 17-20), in 'Antijudaismus im Neuen Testament?', 107-108 113

² J. Dupont, Les Béatitudes, I, 15, note 1, Strecker, Weg, 141

³ See J. Dupont, Les Béatitudes, I, 131, resp. 159, A. George, La justice à faire, Bibl 40 (1959) 592, Kilpatrick, Origins, 20 24 with his specific theory

However, while in Mt 6, 1 numerous words and expressions are found which belong to the Mt-vocabulary to such an extent that the verse can be ascribed to Mt without too great a difficulty, these are almost completely missing in Mt 5, 20: λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν is in Mt found only in Mt 3, 9; 5, 20; 18, 10 and 23, 39¹; the combination ἐὰν μὴ . . . οὐ μὴ is further only found in Mt 18, 3²; the expression ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη is used only in Mt 5, 20 and the combination περισσεύω πλεῖον is not repeated elsewhere.

Still, it seems to me that these data do not count so heavily, that the whole verse should be attributed to the tradition. The concept δικαιοσύνη is peculiar to Mt (7/0/1) and the formulation γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι often occurs in Mt (10/3/5). The contrast between the

about the source M, J Kurzinger, *Zur Komposition der Bergpredigt nach Mt*, Bibl 40 (1959) 582, who sees Mt 5, 20 as a general introduction to Mt 6, 1ff and Mt 5, 17 as an introduction to Mt 5, 21-48, J Jeremias, *Die Bergpredigt*, 20 and Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu, I, 288, who takes together in Mt 5, 20 the three groups who will be addressed in the course of the Sermon on the Mount the γραμματεῖς are addressed in Mt 5, 21-48, the φαρισαῖοι in Mt 6, 1-18, and the ὑμῖν (the disciples of Jesus) in Mt 6, 19-7, 27, Strecker, *Weg*, 151 ff, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 161, Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 135, G Harder, *Jesus und das Gesetz*, in 'Antijudaismus im Neuen Testament', 117-118

¹ This may appear from the following data

(ἐγὼ) δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν Mt 5, 22 28 32 34 39 44, 6, 29, 8, 11, 12, 6 36, 17, 12, 19, 9 24, 21, 27, 26, 29

(Mk 11, 33)

Lk 9, 27, 12, 4 8 27, 13, 35

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν Mt 5, 18, 6, 2 5 16, 8, 10, 10, 15 23 42, 11, 11, 13, 17, 16, 28, 17, 20, 18, 3 13 18 19, 19, 23 28, 21, 21, 23, 36, 24, 2 34 47, 25, 12 40 45, 26 13 21 34

Mk 3, 28, 9, 1 41, 10, 15 29, 11, 23, 12, 43, 13, 30, 14, 9 18 25

Lk 4, 24, 12, 37, 18, 17 29, 20, 32

λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν Mt 3, 9, 5, 20, 18, 10, 23, 39

Lk 3, 8, 10, 24, 22, 16 18 37

(καὶ) λέγω ὑμῖν Mt 10, 27, 11, 9

Lk (4, 25), 7, 9 26 28, 10, 12, 11, 8 9 51, 12, 5 44 51, 13, 3 5 24 27, 15, 7 10 (16, 9), 17, 34, 18, 8 14, 19, 26 40, 20, 8, 21, 3

διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν Mt 6, 25, 12, 31, 21, 43

Mk 11, 24

Lk 12, 22

πλὴν (ἀλλά) λέγω ὑμῖν Mt 11, 22 24, 26, 64 (πλὴν)

Mk 9, 13 (ἀλλά)

Lk 6, 27 (ἀλλά)

ὁ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω Mk 13, 13.

From all this we may gather that the following expressions are typical of the Matthean usage (ἐγὼ) λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν and ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, typically Lukan is (καὶ) λέγω ὑμῖν (for this datum see also W Ott, *Gebet und Heil*, 100) and typically Markan is ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν.

² Not as is said by J Dupont, *Les Beatitudes*, I, 133, note 1 in Mt 7, 21

scribes and the Pharisees on the one hand and the followers of Jesus on the other is so great that no room is left for the former group inside the Kingdom of Heaven. This is a concept, which we have already come across several times in Mt's gospel. Moreover, on account of the way it has been placed and because of its contents, the verse functions as the title-verse of the unit that follows in Mt 5, 21-48, which in its totality has certainly been rewritten by Mt.¹ The conclusion from all this should be that a possibly traditional logion has been reworked by Mt in such a way that it could function as the title verse of the following antitheses. Mt wished to make it clear that the δικαιοσύνη of the followers of Jesus does not rest on the Jewish halachah, but on the ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν of Jesus himself. Whoever follows the Jewish leaders will not enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Only if one listens to Jesus, will the δικαιοσύνη be fulfilled. For the last time Mt makes it very clear to us, that the contrast between the Jewish leaders and the disciples of Jesus is not absolute. It is not the disciples who take the place of the Jewish leaders, but Jesus himself.

D. THE EXISTENCE OF CHRISTIAN SCRIBES

The texts mentioned above provide enough evidence to get some insight into how Mt saw the relationship between the Jewish figure of authority and the disciples of Jesus. However, there are a number of texts in the Mt-gospel which seem to go right against the vision which was described just now.

In Mt 8, 18-22; 13, 52; 23, 2-3. 8-12. 34-36 the scribes are spoken about in a positive way. Since there has also been established a relationship with the words μαθητής, μαθητεύω, ὑμῶν, it goes without saying that these texts must be discussed in this study.

Mt 8, 18-22

The way in which this text has been judged directly reveals what Mt's attitude towards the scribes is believed to have been. Does Mt know of the existence of Christian γραμματεῖς? Is there any suggestion of an opposition between the one γραμματεὺς, who is rejected, and one of the disciples, who is invited to follow? Or must we say because of the ἕτερος δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν in Mt 8, 21 that the scribe is also one of the disciples?

¹ Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 161.

Hummel¹ might be seen as an exponent of the opinion that Mt does not take a negative stand towards Pharisaism. The scribe is qualified as a disciple of Jesus by Mt 8, 21 and his decision to follow Jesus is taken seriously by Mt. Mt 8, 19 should be connected with Mt 13, 52; 23, 8-10 and 23, 34. The church of Mt distinguishes itself from every other NT church-community by the fact that its teachers present themselves as scribes, not on the basis of an appointment from outside, but because of their inner structure of this church itself. Mt heavily stresses the obedience to the Torah and therefore the teachers in his church are called scribes. It reveals the Jewish-rabbinic component of his church.

Walker² provides the argumentation for the other point of view. There is a profound difference between Mt 8, 19-20 and Mt 8, 21-22. The γραμματεὺς is rejected resolutely by Jesus, but the disciple is invited by Jesus to follow him always. Mt wishes to distance himself from the scribes. This negative tendency in Mt is expressed in the forms of address used by his characters. The γραμματεὺς calls Jesus διδάσκαλος, a form of address, which Mt puts only into the mouths of the adversaries of Jesus, but the disciples in Mt always use the word κύριος, for this is the word that should be used by a disciple.

In any case from the combination of εἰς γραμματεὺς (8, 19) and ἕτερος τῶν μαθητῶν (8, 21) it is impossible to draw any conclusion about whether or not the scribe is a disciple. εἰς is presumably used as τις³ and ἕτερος has the function of ἄλλος⁴. Apart from the fact that in Mt the term μαθητής is not used as a definition of 'Christian', there is much to be said in favour of the opposite conclusion, even from a literary point of view. Right from the beginning a contrast is suggested. A scribe wishes to follow Jesus, but one of the disciples refuses to follow Jesus. Because the ἀκολουθεῖ of Lk 9, 59 has been moved to the end of the logion in Mt, the structure of Mt 8, 19-22 is more closely parallel. The difference

¹ Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 27, see further Grundmann, Evangelium, 258, Lagrange, Evangile, 171, H Zimmermann, Neutestamentliche Methodenlehre, 122

² Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 26-27; see further Strecker, Weg, 124, F Hahn, Christologische Hohertstitel, 83, Held, Matthaus als Interpret, 191, Allen, Gospel, 82.

³ M Zerwick, Graecitas biblica, 155, Bl-D, 247, 2

⁴ M Zerwick, Graecitas biblica, 143, Bauer, Wb, s v ἕτερος 1b; Allen Gospel, 82

between the first and the second apophthegma should not be sought in the rejecting answer of Jesus, but in the introductory sentences. The scribe is willing to follow Jesus wherever he may go, but in the eyes of the disciple the following of Jesus does not qualify as a *πρῶτον*.

Until this point has been cleared up we cannot consider the possible significance of the different modes of address¹. The fact is ascertained that only the non-disciples call Jesus *διδάσκαλος*², but whether or not this should be attributed to a conscious redaction by Mt is difficult to prove. Out of the six times it is used as a form of address by Mt³, it has been borrowed from Mk four times⁴. Only in Mt 8, 19 and 12, 38 it is used by Mt independently from his 'Vorlage'. The text of Mk does not provide a consistent picture either⁵. It is therefore the more striking that the term *κύριε* is used in Mt (nearly) exclusively⁶ by the disciples or by those people who seek Jesus⁷. This is the reason why a certain redaction need not be totally out of the question. Mt wished to stress the contrast between the willingness of the non-disciple and the unwillingness of the disciple. The use of different forms of address underscores once more the subject of the sentence: *γραμματεὺς* and *μαθητής*.

In the eyes of Mt both the scribe and the disciple are a prod for the believer: if even a scribe wished to follow Jesus, how much more the reader of this gospel should feel called upon to do so and if a disciple of Jesus makes any reservation, he has to expect

¹ F Hahn, *Christologische Hohheitstitel*, 76, Bornkamm, *Enderwartung*, 38, Held, *Matthaus als Interpret*, 191, Strecker, *Weg*, 124, Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 27

² It would be better not to speak of 'Gegner' and 'Fernstehender', for then a separate category would be created for the man in Mt 19, 16

³ Mt 8, 19, 12, 38, 19, 16, 22, 16 24 36

⁴ Mt 19, 16, 22, 16 24 36

⁵ Mk 4, 38 the disciples call Jesus *διδάσκαλος* = Mt 8, 25. the disciples call Jesus *κύριος*, Mk 9, 17 *εἰς ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου* = Mt 17, 15 *ἄνθρωπος* calls Jesus *κύριος*, Mk 9, 38 does not have a parallel in Mt, Mk 10, 20 the rich young man in Mk twice uses the title *διδάσκαλος* namely in Mk 10, 17 and 10, 20, but in Mt only in Mt 19, 16, Mk 10, 35 James and John ask Jesus for a favour = Mt 20, 20, where the mother of the sons of Zebedee does, Mk 13, 1 one of the disciples points at the stones and the buildings of Jerusalem = Mt 24, 1 without mentioning the title *διδάσκαλος*

⁶ It is obvious that Mt 7, 21 22 are 'hors de concours', in Mt 27, 63 *κύριε* is used as a title for Pilate

⁷ Disciple(s), 7, 21 25, 26, 22, Peter 14, 28 30, 16, 22, 17, 4, 18, 21, leper 8, 2, centurion 8, 6 8, the possessed child 9, 28, the woman of Canaan 15, 22 25 27, man 17, 15, the blind ones 20, 30 31 33

a rejection by Jesus. This is as far as any redactional activity can go. For the rest the text of Mt most accurately follows the 'Vorlage'. In other words, I do not think that Mt 8, 20 and 8, 22 can add anything to the meaning given to this pericope by Mt, not even if one interprets Mt 8, 20 to the disadvantage of the scribe and Mt 8, 22 to the advantage of the disciple.

Moreover, it cannot be inferred from the text in any way that Mt 8, 20 is meant to be a rejection. From Lk 9, 57-58 it appears that Mt 8, 20 could have been interpreted in the tradition as an imitation logion. It describes how this imitation should be¹ and it presupposes that the follower will fare like him he follows.

If the latter has no place where he can lay his head, the former will not find a place either. If there is any question of a rejection in the pericope Mt 8, 18-22, it has to be in 8, 22. The disciple is told that no human relationship can be compared with what it means to follow Jesus.²

Mt 13, 52

The interpretation of this logion passes through all the stages imaginable: Mt gives a description of the way he himself functions within the Christian community,³ the logion refers to the scribes, who join Christianity;⁴ the verse clearly shows that within Christian-

¹ H. Todt, *Der Menschensohn*, 114, A. Higgins, *Jesus and the Son of Man*, 126

² This discipleship has been described in Mt 8, 23-27 which forms a close unity with Mt 8, 18-22. We need not add much to what has been expounded by Bornkamm, *Die Sturmstillung im Matthäus-Evangelium*, in 'Bornkamm-Barth, Überlieferung und Auslegung im Matthäusevangelium', 48-53 (see further O. Perels, *Die Wunderüberlieferung*, 34, H. van der Loos, *Miracles of Jesus*, 638-649, B. van Iersel, *Ontmythologiserende schriftuitleg*?, in 'Geloof bij kenterend getij', 136-162). Bornkamm has shown that Mt 8, 23-27 has undergone a coherent revision: it tends to be a description of the following of Jesus in the midst of impending dangers which threaten man, Jesus is the guide who steers mankind safely through these dangers. Perhaps it is important to remark that in Mt 8, 27 there is no identification between *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* and the community of Mt, but the verse expresses the positive attitude of *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* (in general) towards the preaching. From the parallel in Mk 4, 41 (Lk 8, 25) where the disciples arrive at this admission, it appears that Mt does not make a strict distinction between those who follow Jesus and *οἱ ἄνθρωποι*. One gradually blends into the other group without there being any clear demarcation.

³ J. Hoh, *Der christliche γραμματεὺς* (Mt 13, 52), *BZ* 17 (1925/26) 256-266; C. F. D. Moule, *St. Matthew's Gospel*, in 'Studia Evang.', II, 98-99.

⁴ Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 17-27, S. Légasse, *Scribes et disciples de Jésus*, *RB* 68 (1961) 489-490; J. Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 214.

ity 'Christian γραμματεῖς' are found, which means that there are people within the Christian community who have a function comparable to that of the scribes within the Jewish people;¹ the logion teaches that each disciple who is able to qualify may present himself as a Christian γραμματεὺς;² Mt 13, 52 intends to say that the place of the disciples inside Christianity by far surpasses that of the scribes inside Judaism.³

In all these interpretations we find the following fact: everyone is guided in his interpretation by the beginning of the sentence: πᾶς γραμματεὺς μαθητευθεὶς τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, and the real point of comparison: ὅμοιός ἐστιν is completely overlooked in the interpretation. And even if one does not overlook it one takes the line that in Mt 13, 52 γραμματεὺς should be identified with παλαιά and μαθητευθεὶς with καινά. However, one cannot do so any more after the exposition by Jeremias about the meaning and the function of the ὅμοιός ἐστιν (and the parallel expression).⁴ The meaning of the first part must be explained by means of the second part, in the course of which explanation the stress is laid on the action expressed in the second part. I subscribe to the explanation by Walker⁵ and I believe that Mt 13, 52 has this meaning: such a scribe will fare as the lord of the house, who handles everything he possesses in a carefree manner, who does not save anything and even uses what is old.

One has to begin by saying that the origin of this logion presupposes the existence of the Christian γραμματεῖς, but this does not permit the conclusion that Mt himself was interested in the existence of such Christian scribes. If one wishes to define the precise function of the verse, one could say in a word that Mt 13, 52 wishes to defend such scribes rather than draw them nearer. When the verse was constructed, there was apparently a need to make a positive judgment, but this cannot be gathered from the logion, which does not show that one is keen on 'converting' the Jewish scribes.

Once these observations have been made, it does make sense to inquire as to the meaning of the μαθητευθεὶς. Usually a direct relation-

¹ Kilpatrick, *Origins*, 111; Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 357.

² Lagrange, *Evangile*, 281.

³ T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 198-199.

⁴ J. Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 100-102.

⁵ Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 27-29.

ship is established with μαθητής: the γραμματεὺς becomes a μαθητής. Strecker,¹ however, has pointed out that, although the technical meaning of the concept μαθητεύομαι (to make someone a disciple or to teach, to admit to the school)² is kept and therefore the verb still refers to the word μαθητής as far as its contents is concerned, Mt still distinguishes between the verb and the substantive. Mt does not use the verb μαθητεύομαι for the twelve (similarly he does not use the substantive μαθητής for anyone else except the twelve). If this is the express meaning, the significance of the logion Mt 13, 52 becomes much clearer. It does not deal with the disciples of Jesus, nor with any Christians who have taken the places of the scribes, but it deals with the γραμματεὺς μαθητευθείς as the Jewish scribe who has accepted the teaching about the Kingdom of Heaven. Such a scribe should be thought of positively, for he resembles the master of the house, who distributes all his goods.

Who has constructed this verse? In any case it seems to have originated in a Greek-speaking world. This can be gathered from the purely Greek concepts μαθητευθείς,³ ὅμοιός ἐστιν⁴ and καινὰ καὶ παλαιά.⁵ Moreover, since this verse has been formed by a number of words which belong to the Mt-vocabulary: μαθητευθείς (only in Mt 13, 25; 27, 57, 28, 19); βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὅμοιός ἐστιν in parables (?) (Mt 11, 16, 13, 31.33.44.45.47.52, 20, 1; Lk 6, 47.48.49; 7, 31.32; 13, 18.19.21), ἄνθρωπος οἰκοδεσπότης (only in Mt 13, 52; 20, 1; 21, 33), ἐκβάλλει ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ αὐτοῦ corresponds with Mt 12, 35 (in contrast with Lk 6, 45, where the verb προφέρει is used), it seems to be very probable that Mt himself constructed Mt 13, 52. It is difficult to solve the problem of how far one can presume an already extant tradition. The meaning of the logion, if I have understood it well, does not provide any occasion

¹ Strecker, Weg, 192.

² G Dalman, Die Worte Jesu, 87, Trilling, Wahre Israel, 145-146, Str-B, I, 676, S Légasse, Scribes et disciples de Jésus, RB 68 (1961) 492-494, J Hoh, Der christliche γραμματεὺς, BZ 17 (1925/26) 261-262, Allen, Gospel, 154-155, K H Rengstorff, TWNT, IV, 465, s v μαθητεύω

³ See K H Rengstorff, TWNT, IV, 465, s v μαθητεύω, the word does not occur in the LXX, Josephus and Philo, while it is common usage in non-biblical Greek, see already G Dalman, Die Worte Jesu, 87

⁴ J Jeremias, Gleichnisse, 100

⁵ The combination of these words does not occur in the LXX and is hapax as far as the NT is concerned, for the Greek usage, see J Behm, TWNT, III, 450, s v καινός and H Scesemann, TWNT, V, 714 s v παλαιός

why this verse should not be attributed to Mt in its totality.

Mt 23, 2-3

These verses are extremely difficult to place. The singular *καθέδρα* used in 23, 2, in contrast with the plural *πρωτοκαθεδραῖαι* of Mt 23, 6, shows that Mt 23, 2 does not speak about an actual sitting, but about the symbol of a legal exercising of authority.¹ 'Sitting on someone's throne' is the Old Testament expression for 'succeeding a person' (2 Kings 15, 12; Ps 132, 12; Ex 11, 5; 12, 29; 1 Kings 1, 35. 46; 2, 12; 16, 11 etc; Ps 9, 5 LXX). Thus this verse also means that the scribes and the Pharisees are the legal successors of Moses and that they have the same authority as Moses.² It is therefore right to compare Mt 23, 2 with the introduction of the 'Pirque Abot', where the authority of the contemporary rabbis is confirmed by showing the continuous line of the tradition back to Moses.³

However, if this interpretation of the verse is correct, it must also be demonstrated on what grounds Mt could attribute such an authority to the scribes and the Pharisees and why Mt judges them so negatively in the rest of his gospel. Several authors say therefore that the *ἐκάθισαν* should be understood as a past tense.⁴ Mt gives his opinion about a period which is now past: 'Formerly the scribes and the Pharisees used to sit on the seat of Moses'. This answer, however, seems to be a solution suited to the occasion for this one verse. One must explain, how Mt 23, 3 could add:

¹ I Renou, *The Seat of Moses*, *IsraelExplJourn* 5 (1955) 265

² M Ginsburger, *La 'Chair de Moïse'*, *REJ* 90 (1931) 164

³ C H Dodd, *Matthew and Paul*, *ET* 58 (1946/47) 296, Lagrange, *Evangelie*, 437; Allen, *Gospel*, 243, for the significance of the introduction formula of the 'Pirque Abot' and other literature on this subject, see E Bickerman, *La chaîne de la tradition pharissienne*, *RB* 59 (1952) 44-54.

⁴ F Hahn, *Christologische Hohheitstitel*, 402, note 1, Allen, *Gospel*, 244 gives it as a possibility, this also McNeile, *Gospel*, 329, to J M Grintz, *Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple*, *JBL* 79 (1960) 39 this aorist is precisely the evidence that Mt has used a Hebrew text, in which confusion could be caused between qatal and yiqtol of שׁב According to this author a yiqtol seems originally to have been intended, see further Klostermann, *Evangelium*, 181

A parallel theory is found in M Zerwick, *Analysis philologica Novi Testamenti*, 58, Beilner, *Christus*, 202, note 13 They wish to read the aorist as an 'intrusion'. the scribes and the Pharisees have appropriated to themselves the right to be successors of Moses Here too the difficulties then start in Mt 23, 3.

πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν εἰπωσιν, ποιήσατε καὶ τηρεῖτε. Mt 23, 2 does not speak about a real throne,¹ as in John 19, 13, but about authority and dignity. The aorist ἐκάθισαν of Mt 23, 2 must be compared with the ἐκάθισαν of Mk 16, 19; Hebr 1, 3; 8, 1; 10, 12; Apoc 3, 21,² where the meaning is understood to be in the present.

In order to meet these objections there are authors who wish to interpret the πάντα of 23, 3 in a 'limited' sense.³ The scribes and the Pharisees should be followed in as far as they really explain the Law of Moses. Since they sit on the seat of Moses, they have his authority; this charism, however, does not apply to an arbitrary explanation of the Law and the latter explanation is therefore unable to bind the followers of Jesus. Such a theory, however, distinguishes between the written and the oral Torah which was not known in the period we are dealing with. For the rabbinic world, where the logion Mt 23, 2-3a finds its own milieu, both are equally sacrosanct. Anyone who refuses to accept the oral Torah, rejects Moses himself in the eyes of the rabbis.⁴ The text of Mt does not give any cause for making a distinction between what comes from Moses and what is human explanation.

Historically speaking the mention of καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι in Mt 23, 2 is very strange. The Pharisees are people who wish to fulfill the Law as well as possible, but they have not made it their task to explain the Torah. If one has to compare Mt 23, 2 with the introduction to the 'Pirke Abot', the origin must be sought in a very orthodox milieu which makes a strict distinction between the rabbis and other people.

Maybe by starting here it is possible to find a solution to the difficulties. Several times in Mt we find the expression γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι (10/3/5). However, in contrast with all other places

¹ M. Ginsburger, La 'Chair de Moïse', REJ 90 (1931) 164 proves that there has never been a 'seat of Moses' in the material meaning of the word.

² Bl-D, 342, 1, Anh

³ See E. Haenchen, Matthaus 23, ZThK 48 (1951) 40, B. Weiss, Evangelium, 380; Allen, Gospel, 244; Lagrange, Evangile, 437. Lagrange makes an appeal to Aug., De doctr. chr. IV, 27 59: 'illa cathedra non eorum sed Moysis, cogeant eos bona dicere, etiam non bona facientes'.

⁴ There is a famous story about the proselyte who wished to learn the written, but not the oral Torah. Shammai chases him away with a stick, but Hillel takes up his request. He first of all teaches him the Hebrew alphabet. When the proselyte comes back the next day, he says: You believed that I taught you the right alphabet; now you must also believe me when I explain the Torah. See Str-B, I, 930.

we find it in Mt 23, 2 twice with the definite article: οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι. In Mt 5, 20 and 12, 38 one finds οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι and in Mt 15, 1; 23, 13.15.23.25.27.29 it is found without an article. Therefore in Mt 23, 2 we have a kind of hapax.¹ Is it impossible that a traditional logion about γραμματεῖς is synchronized with Mt 23, 13 ff., where γραμματεῖς and φαρισαῖοι are mentioned?

It is not completely out of the question, for also for the rest Mt 23, 2-3a provides few expressions, which correspond with the Mt-vocabulary: πάντα ὅσα (ἐ)άν + subjunctive only occurs in Mt 7, 12; 21, 22 and 23, 3; the combination of ποιέω and πάντα is found in Mt 5, 18-19; 7, 12 and 23, 3 only; in Mt 28, 20 there is still the combination of τηρέω and πάντα, but only in Mt 23, 3a do we find the combination ποιέω and τηρέω.² All this taken together would mean that we are dealing with a traditional logion in Mt 23, 2-3a, which has been rewritten by Mt to such an extent that it could function as an opening verse for the speech of Jesus in Mt 23. As far as the content is concerned there is no connection whatsoever with the ideas Mt may have had about the place and the position of the Jewish teachers.³

With Mt 23, 3b: κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ. a new idea is started, which is more in line with what we find elsewhere in Mt's gospel. The ἔργα refer to Mt 5, 16; 6, 1.2.5.16; 23, 5. It deals with the δικαιοσύνη, which should not be like that of the scribes and the Pharisees. In the sentence λέγουσιν γὰρ καὶ οὐ ποιοῦσιν we find this underlined once more. The function of the last part of that verse is two-fold. It summarizes the preceding 23, 3a-b (the λέγουσιν refers to the πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐάν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν and the οὐ ποιοῦσιν refers to the κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν μὴ ποιεῖτε), but at the same time it is a general introduction to 23, 4, where it says that the scribes and the Pharisees refuse to carry the burdens which they lay on other men's shoulders. It is therefore undoubtedly a linking sentence made by the editor.⁴

Because of the close coherence with the rest of the Mt-gospel, the contrast with Mt 23, 2-3a and the connection with Mt 23, 4 ff. it seems justifiable in my opinion to recognize the hand of Mt

¹ Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 17.

² See further Barth, Gesetzesverständnis, 66 and 80.

³ Strecker, Weg, 16; Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 17, note 21.

⁴ E. Haenchen, Matthäus 23, ZThK 48 (1951) 40.

himself in Mt 23, 3b-c: *κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.* It reveals Mt's own (Christian) reaction to the preceding, strongly Jewishly coloured logion about faithfulness to the teachings of Moses. Therefore, it is altogether impossible to quote Mt 23, 2-3 in order to demonstrate how positive Mt's attitude in fact was towards the Pharisees and scribes.¹ Mt preserves a positive tradition which has been passed on to him (23, 2-3a), but at the same time he also intimates that in his community this tradition hardly functions any more (23, 3b-c).

Mt 23, 8-12

Similarly as in Mt 13, 52 one has to start from the supposition in Mt 23, 8-12 that in the community of Mt Christian γραμματεῖς existed, but while Mt 13, 52 defended their position against unjustified criticism, Mt 23, 8-12 gets to the very heart of the matter. In the Christian community there is a place for but one διδάσκαλος, one πατήρ, one καθηγητής. Mt 23, 8-12 links up with Mt's own vision that the mutual relationships within the community are defined immediately by Christ and the Father.

As in Mt 19, 11 where one finds the admonition that the teaching of Jesus should be accepted and recognized as a divine gift, so it appears from Mt 23, 8-12 that the relationship between God and Christ is very close. One cannot even ascertain in every case, whether God himself is meant or Jesus. In particular this is true of Mt 23, 8: *ὁμοῦς δὲ μὴ κληθῆτε ῥαββί, εἰς γὰρ ἔστιν ὁμοῦν ὁ διδάσκαλος.* Is there a link between this verse and other texts like TGC Gen 35, 9 (ms C); Gen 37, 33 (ms D); Gen 38, 25 (ms D), where God is addressed as רבן² and does it mean that one should not try to be on an equal level with God? Or must the logion be applied to Christ, who as the one and only rabbi can speak and teach with authority in Christianity?³ If one accepts the former interpretation, it is understandable why Mt 23, 9 could follow; by accepting

¹ This especially in contrast with those authors who see Mt 23, 2-3 as a tactical maneuver in order to prevent the connection with Judaism from being lost altogether: Kilpatrick, *Origins*, 121; Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 31; Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 482.

² P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, II, 12.17 18 S Légasse, *Scribes et disciples de Jésus*, RB 68 (1961) 335, note 58; C. Spicq, *Une allusion au Docteur de Justice dans Matt 23, 10?*, RB 66 (1959) 389, wish to see a reference to God in this logion.

³ See E. Haenchen, *Matthaus 23*, ZThK 48 (1951) 44

the latter explanation, however, Mt 23, 10 is better explained.

How should Mt 23, 9 be understood then? πατέρα is not parallel with ἄββί in Mt 23, 8, for the rabbis were never addressed as 'father'.¹ ἄββά has never been a title given to any living person. Townsend² has pointed out that only two groups of people were called 'abba' in Judaism. It was quite normal to see the great scribes of the past as 'fathers'.³ Mt 23, 9 would then mean: Do not call any of your great spiritual leaders from the past your father, for only God is your father. Compared with this we find in the Talmud (Ber 26b) the tradition that only the three patriarchs may be called 'father'. If Mt 23, 9 should be understood in the light of this tradition, the verse is supposed to stress the fact that in Christianity no support should be expected to come from the physical descent from Abraham. This descent does not count with God, because He can even turn stones into bread. The logion would then fit into the pattern of the traditional controversy against the Pharisees (see Mt 3, 9; Lk 3, 8).

These explanations, however, are not completely satisfactory, for how should the opposition ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς — οὐράνιος fit into this pattern? The dead rabbis or Abraham cannot be said to be ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Would it be justified to think of a Greek background, such as it is found in the stoicism which teaches the unity of the human race with God as its one and only father?⁴ In any case this would provide the explanation of the sentence: πάντες δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀδελφοί ἐστε (Mt 23, 8c, which has to be translated as an imperative), which as far as the content is concerned is more related to the idea of the being a πατήρ, summoned up in v. 9 than with the idea that God or Jesus is a ἄββί/διδάσκαλος.

At any event verse 10 certainly takes us to a Greek milieu. καθηγητής is a hapax in the Holy Scriptures and even unknown to Philo and Josephus.⁵ According to Spicq καθηγητής is identical

¹ Str-B, I, 919, G Dalman, Die Worte Jesu, 278

² J T Townsend, Matthew 23, 9, JTS 12 (1961) 56-59

³ See the title of the treatise 'Piqḥe Abot', in Str-B, I, 919, G Dalman, Die Worte Jesu, 279, other texts dating from later times are found which show that the earlier rabbis, Shammai, Hillel, Ismael, Aqiba were called 'father', but these people were dead by that time

⁴ P Wulff von Martitz, TWNT, VIII, 337, s v υἱός, G Hansen, Die Philosophie, in 'L Grundmann, Umwelt des Urchristentums', I, Darstellung des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters, Berlin, 1967/2, 363-364

⁵ See C Spicq, Une allusion au Docteur de Justice dans Matt 23, 10?, RB 66 (1959) 390.

with ὁδηγός, ἡγούμενος and from the first century onwards it is often used in the technical meaning of teacher, master, professor. Mt 23, 10 in that case is the Greek 'translation' of 23, 8, where at the same time matters have been brought to a head. The addition ὁ χριστός has removed whatever doubt there may have been about the interpretation. For the rest it is not all that surprising that people in this Greek milieu were no longer aware of the Jewish concept of God as διδάσκαλος. On the basis of Mt 23, 10 one can say that Mt 23, 8 must be understood as a logion about Christ.

Mt 23, 11-12 immediately links up with Mt 23, 10: Christ, who was the greatest among you was also most your servant. So it should be among you yourselves. They are two logia which confront the Christian community with the ethical meaning of the preceding verses. Mutual relationships should be characterized by service and humility.

How much can we demonstrate in Mt 23, 8-12 as being from Mt? In general there is no doubt about the pre-redactional character.¹ This is especially clear in the case of Mt 23, 11-12, which is a variation on Mk 9, 35; 10, 43; Lk 22, 26-27 and Lk 14, 11; 18, 14; Mt 20, 26-27, respectively. This concept was so widespread in early Christian literature that any further influence of a particular editor can no longer be shown.² Mt 23, 8a-b is presumably also pre-redactional. If it is true that Mt consciously prevents the disciples of Jesus from using the name διδάσκαλος (see Mt 8, 18-22), it can hardly be assumed that a logion like Mt 23, 8a-b is from his hand. It is true that this objection does not hold true for Mt 23, 10, but because of the complete absence of any parallels (apart from Mt 23, 8), it is impossible to prove that this verse should be attributed to Mt.

Things are different in the case of Mt 23, 8c-9, however. First of all, there are a number of words which belong to the typical

There is a variety of opinions on the Aramaic/Hebrew background of the word, see L. Saggin, *Magister vester unus est, Christus*, VD 30 (1952) 211-212, who refers to Buxtdorf, Lightfoot, Knabenbauer (מורה), Lagrange (מליף or מלפנא), Bayle (נשיא), Str-B (פרנס or מנהיג), Jouon (מדברנא) G. Dalman already in 'Die Worte Jesu', 251 thought that Mt 23, 10 was a literary doublure

¹ Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 154, Strecker, *Weg*, 215, C. Spicq, *Une allusion au Docteur de Justice dans Matt 23, 10?*, RB 66 (1959) 387, E. Haenchen, *Matthaus 23*, ZThK 48 (1951) 43, McNeile, *Gospel*, 331

² See further Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 154 156 193, J. Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 191 ff

Mt-vocabulary: ἀδελφός in a 'Christian' meaning (17/2/6);¹ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς in the meaning of 'on earth', not in the meaning of 'on the ground' (10/3/5); πατήρ ὁ οὐράνιος (7/0/0). Moreover, the literary construction of the sentence can be pointed out as being out of harmony with the two verses which surround v. 9; instead of κληθῆτε, 23, 9 uses καλέσητε.

The problem of where the redaction begins and where the tradition stops cannot be solved satisfactorily. However, if one understands Mt 23, 8c.9 against a Greek background and not against a Jewish background, it does not seem unreasonable that the verse has been inserted by Mt himself in the double logion Mt 23, 8a-b and 23, 10. Actually it would mean that Mt saw the traditional controversy against the use of titles and homage as fitting the pattern of his general theological point of view that God is the father of all mankind and that all men are therefore brothers. Mt 23, 8-12 makes it clear once more that Mt himself was not interested in the existence of Christian scribes. There is nothing which forbids them to exist, but they are not superior to other people.

Mt 23, 34-36

After this discussion there is no need to dwell for a long time on Mt 23, 34-36. If one starts by saying that Mt 23, 34: διὰ τοῦτο ἐγὼ λέγω κ.τ.λ. is the beginning of a quotation, one cannot draw any historical conclusions any more about the existence of Christian σοφοί and γραμματεῖς in Mt's time and age. Moreover, we have shown that the combination προφήτας καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ γραμματεῖς cannot be from Mt himself. Finally one should take into account the development of the institution of the scribes in the first century after Christ. At the time of Jesus' life the title ῥαββί was not understood as something exclusive. This may be gathered from the fact that it could even be used to address somebody like Jesus himself who had not had any legal instruction (John 7, 15). In the course of the first century however, this concept underwent a change. Because of what happened in the year 70 Judaism had a better and stronger organisation, and to be a rabbi is to be part of an institution. Not every γραμματεὺς automatically becomes a διδά-

¹ For Mt it is traditional in Mt 7, 3 4 5; 12, 49 50; 18, 15 15 21 in view of Lk 6, 41 42 42; 8, 21, 17, 3, Mk 3, 34 35, but Mt uses it as 'Sondergut' in Mt 5, 22 22 23 24 27; 18, 35; 23, 8, 25, 40, 28, 10 compared with Lk 22, 32.

σκαλος.¹ Not until the תלמיד has undergone the laying on of hands and thus has been admitted into the circle of the חכמים, does he have the right to make any legal decisions. In the tannaitic period these rabbis carry on a sharp controversy about the so-called סופרין of that period, which means a controversy about those persons who give the basic legal instructions.² This controversy appears to have been a kind of selfdefense. They wished to prevent their own standing from being cheapened. Only the rabbis can explain the Law. Even if Mt 23, 34 were written at the time of Mt himself, it does not seem to be aware of these developments. That means that one must draw the conclusion that it was written at a much earlier date.

¹ See S Légasse, Scribes et disciples de Jésus, RB 68 (1961) 335, J Jeremias, Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu, 268, F Hahn, Christologische Hohheits-titel, 78

² See especially B Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, 43 51, S Sandmel, The First Christian Century in Judaism and Christianity, New York, 1969, 9 70

ΟΙ ΟΧΛΟΙ

At least since Allen¹ and Holtzmann² it has been known among the exegetes that Mt shows a peculiar preference for the plural οἱ ὄχλοι. It is used 30/1/16 times. It goes without saying that Mt expresses his own convictions by means of this term, although there is hardly any system to be found in the way it is used. Much more clearly than in the use of any other term the texts with οἱ ὄχλοι show how very positive and unprejudiced Mt was in the way he faced the world. Very typical are those texts in which οἱ ὄχλοι are directly confronted with the Jewish leaders: Mt 7, 28; 9, 8; 12, 23; 21, 9.11.46; 22, 33; 27, 20. Also the relationship between οἱ μαθηταί and οἱ ὄχλοι has been developed in a characteristic manner: Mt 5, 1; 12, 46; 13, 2.34.36; 14, 15.19.19.22.23; 15, 36.39; 23, 1. The other texts speak about the relationship of Jesus to οἱ ὄχλοι: Mt 9, 36; 11, 7; 26, 55 or about the reaction of the ὄχλοι to Jesus: Mt 4, 25; 8, 1; 14, 13; 19, 2; 15, 30, but in this case Mt often very closely follows the tradition that has been passed on to him.

A. οἱ ὄχλοι AND THE JEWISH LEADERS

Mt 7, 28-29

The differences from Mk 1, 21-22 are already very meaningful. While Mk 1, 21 speaks about the people who listen to Jesus in the synagogues and are astonished at his doctrine, Mt 7, 28-29 serves as the conclusion to the Sermon on the Mount, to which the ὄχλοι have listened with approval. There seems to be no doubt about the fact that the verses have been revised redactionally by Mt. Mt 7, 28a immediately follows Mt 11, 1; 13, 53; 19, 1; 26, 1. οἱ ὄχλοι belongs to the vocabulary of Mt as does the addition of αὐτῶν to γραμματεῖς, which leads to a more conscious contrast between οἱ ὄχλοι and the Jews. The ὄχλοι follow the διδασχῇ of

¹ Allen, Gospel, lxxxvi.

² Holtzmann, Hand-Commentar, 201.

Jesus, who possesses an ἐξουσία which they were unable to find in 'those scribes they had in their midst'.¹

Mt 9, 1-8

The analysis made by Perels² already shows clearly that in Mt 9, 1-8 it is not the miracle story which is at the centre, but the utterance about the forgiving of sins.³ That this is so has been shown more clearly in the recent studies of the pericope.⁴ Mt 9, 1-8 is a dispute between the scribes and Jesus about the power given to men to forgive sins. Mt 9, 8 makes clear why the reactions of the Jewish leaders differ from those of the ὅχλοι. While the scribes reveal their evil thoughts by saying among themselves that Jesus commits blasphemy, the crowds experience a divine fear and praise God who has granted man such a power to forgive sins. In my opinion, Mt 9, 8 does not suggest a contrast between οἱ ὅχλοι and οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Obviously the contents of this verse should not be overextended, since it also functions at the same time as a 'Chorschluss'.⁵ But despite this fact the verse shows too great a resemblance to the rest of the Mt gospel, for there not to be a resonance as far as the contents are concerned.

Mt 9, 32-34

A comparison with Lk 11, 14-15 shows that Mt 9, 32-34 contains material which is nearly all traditional. Added is the expression of what the ὅχλοι say: οὐδέποτε ἐφάνη οὕτως ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, and the adversaries in particular are presented as οἱ φαρισαῖοι. As Held⁶

¹ J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, I, 286, note 3; J. Schmid, *Markus und der aramäische Matthäus*, in 'Synoptische Studien', Fs. A. Wikenhauser, 156; T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 178.

² O. Perels, *Die Wunderüberlieferung*, 8-10.15.47.

³ Apart from the omission of τίς δύναται ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ θεός of Mk 2, 7 and the change in Mt 9, 8 all other alterations in the pericope are closely bound up with the fact that Mk 2, 1-12 has been understood 'one-sidedly' as a dispute. In how far the alteration in Mt has been a conscious process is difficult to ascertain. It is not out of the question that the text of Mk was known in the community of Mt in an early stage, which means before it contained Mk 2, 1b.4. See Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 266; Strecker, *Weg*, 220, note 2. The exact execution of the command ὑπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου in Mt 9, 7 at the end, stresses the miracle-character of the story in a way which differs from Mk 2, 12: ἐξῆλθεν ἔμπροσθεν πάντων.

⁴ Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 36-38; Held, *Matthäus als Interpret*, 165-168; Strecker, *Weg*, 220.

⁵ See among others Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 14.

⁶ Held, *Matthäus als Interpret*, 235.

quite rightly observes, Mt 9, 32-34 is not a miracle story in the real meaning of the word. The stress in the pericope is on the opposite reactions of the crowds and the Pharisees. As the concluding story in the miracle cycle Mt 8-9, it wishes to make clear what one's attitude should be toward the healer, Jesus. One can behave like the Pharisees and denounce Jesus as someone possessed by the devil, or one can react like the ὄχλοι and give a religious assent.

Mt 12, 22-24

Stylistically there is a connection between Mt 12, 22-24 on the one hand and Mt 9, 32-34 and 21, 14-16 on the other hand.¹ First there is a miraculous healing, followed by a reaction of the bystanders and finally by a reaction of the leaders of the people. One has to look for the connection with Mt 22, 41-46 on the basis of the contents, even if the various authors describe these contents differently. According to Hummel Mt 12, 22-24 deals with the Messiah function of Jesus. The miracles have the purpose of legitimating Jesus as the Son of David. The accusation that Jesus acts on the strength of Beelzebul is directed as an attack on Jesus as the Messiah.² According to Walker it is Mt's intention to depict the wickedness of Israel. Mt wishes to demonstrate why Jesus acts as a judge in the rest of Mt 12. The two parties must clearly be seen as standing opposed to one another.³

The redactional revision of the text shows what Mt himself had in mind. The resemblance to Lk 11, 14-15 and Mt 9, 32-34 is to be found in the traditional material, but all the rest shows very strong editorial characteristics: the introductory formula τότε προσήνεχθη αὐτῷ is typically Mt;⁴ δαιμονίζομαι⁵ and τυφλός⁶ are words from the Matthean vocabulary; the fact that Mt has added that the possessed one is τυφλός can also be gathered from the strange construction in 12, 22: ὥστε τὸν κωφὸν λαλεῖν καὶ

¹ Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 120; Held, Matthaus als Interpret, 235, note 5

² Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 122-123

³ Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 52-53.

⁴ Held, Matthaus als Interpret, 218, see Mt 4, 24; 8, 16, 9.2 32; 14, 35; 17, 16; 19, 13

⁵ (7/4/1), of which Mt 8, 32; Mk 5, 15 16.18 and Lk 8, 36 in the story about the possessed man of Gadarene, so that the proportion really is 6/1/0. The rabbis do not know a word which expresses such an idea, see W. Foerster, TWNT, II, 20, s v δαιμονίζομαι

⁶ 17/5/8

βλέπειν;¹ the 'Chorschluss' of the crowds in 12, 23 is connected with 9, 33 and 21, 15 and perhaps also with the concept τυφλός itself;² the reaction of the Pharisees (12, 24) is made as parallel as possible in its formulation with the utterance of the crowds: οὗτος οὐκ . . . ἐστὶν μὴ.³

The healing of the blind man raises the cautious question⁴ of whether Jesus might be the Son of David. The Pharisees, however, do not have an eye for this. In their opinion this man has made a pact with Beelzebul. The repetition of οὗτος (12, 23-24) makes it clear that the pericope is not intended by Mt as suggesting the contrast between Jesus and the Pharisees. In this sense Mt 12, 22-24 does not pretend to be Christological. It does not settle the problem of who Jesus might be, but it only wishes to call up an 'Entweder—Oder' attitude.⁵ The ὄχλοι speak the truth.

Mt 21, 9-17

Walker quite correctly remarks⁶ that a strict distinction should be made between Mt 21, 9 and Mt 21, 10-11. The ὄχλοι crowding before and behind Jesus and calling him the Son of David (21, 9) are seen to have a better understanding of who Jesus is than the ὄχλοι who say to the inhabitants of Jerusalem that Jesus is the prophet from Nazareth (21, 10-11).⁷ Whether or not Mt 21, 10-11 should be attributed to Mt is certainly not clear. Only in Mt 16, 14; 21, 11 and 21, 46 do we find that Jesus is the prophet; however, of these texts Mt 16, 14 and 21, 46 are traditional.

Originally the story of the cleansing of the temple (Mt 21, 12-13)

¹ T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 83.

² See J. M. Gibbs, *Purpose and Pattern in Matthew's Use of the Title 'Son of David'*, NTS 10 (1963/64) 451-452.

³ See Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 123.

⁴ E. Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu*, 151, note 17; Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 328.

⁵ Baumbach, *Verständnis des Bösen*, 111 speaks of this 'Entweder-Oder', but I do not fully agree with his exposition as far as the contents are concerned.

⁶ Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 63-64, but for the rest the author comes out with a piece of literature, which to my mind is not fully accurate. He writes: 'Und welch ein Höllensturz: Jerusalem degradiert den einziehenden König der Niedrigkeit, seinen Messias, zum beliebigen Propheten aus Gahläa! Der Evangelist lässt seine Leser mit 21, 10 f. den ersten Hauch der eisigen Kalte spüren, die Jesus im Weichbild Jerusalems entgegenschlägt'.

⁷ For the meaning of this verse, see R. Meyer, TWNT, V, 588, s.v. ὄχλος. Meyer believes that Mt 21, 10-11 is traditional, see 587, note 27.

followed exactly the text of Mk 11, 15-17.¹ Mk 11, 16 has been omitted, because in the course of the tradition it had become obscure in meaning.² This omission, any more than the suppression of *πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* (Mk 11, 17), need not be ascribed to the redaction of Mt, because the same omissions are also found in Lk 19, 45-46. Alterations like this seem to be better explained as adaptations of the text within the process of the transmission of the tradition rather than as a conscious redaction, for one can hardly say that Mt wished to 'historicize' the scriptural quotation.³ If Mt had wished to adapt the text to the actual situation, in which the temple had been destroyed, he should have left out not only the mention of the pagans, but the whole text as well. At the time of Mt the temple was not an *οἶκος προσευχῆς* for neither pagans nor Jews. If *καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* has been left out on purpose, it should be seen within the framework of an anti-Israel theology, which refuses to see the religious centre of Israel as the religious centre of all mankind. This is an ideology which cannot be placed in the first generation, but must be seen—in view of Lk who shows a tendency similar to that of Mt—as a trend which existed previous to their two gospels.⁴

From verse 14 onwards Mt's attitude towards his material in this pericope can really be called free.⁵ Mt 21, 14-17 is 'Sondergut' and there are a great number of reasons why here we should think of a thorough redaction by Mt. Hummel⁶ points out the motif of the healing of the sick, the mention of the *τυφλοὶ καὶ χωλοί*,⁷ *προσέρχομαι* as a preferential word of Mt, *ὥσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ*, which has been added by Mt in Mt 21, 9; the legitimation by a scriptural quotation (Mt 21, 16), introduced by the formula *οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε* (Mt 12, 5, 19, 4).⁸ Further, one might point

¹ Less important reference may be noted in the addition of the name *Ἰησοῦς* and of *πάντας* in 21, 12

² Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 65, note 1

³ Strecker, *Weg*, 109-110, Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 65

⁴ If Roth is correct, then it cannot be said that Mk has added *πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. See C. Roth, *The Cleansing of the Temple and Zechariah 14, 21*, NT 4 (1960) 174-181. According to this author the original story of the cleansing of the temple is a kind of midrash on Zech 14, 21, where the word *כַּנְעָנִי* is used in the double meaning of 'merchant' and 'pagan'.

⁵ Stendhal, *School*, 67

⁶ Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 119-120

⁷ No reference should be made to Mt 11, 5, for it is parallel to Lk 7, 22, but rather one should refer to Mt 15, 30 31

⁸ Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 63 gives the wrong numbers, because his

out the parallel ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ in 21, 14 and 21, 15, which is not very obvious; the remarkable construction of 21, 15 where the scribes and the high priests see wonderful things and see the children call out. The whole construction of the pericope refers to Mt 9, 33-34 and 12, 22-24:¹ a miraculous cure, an utterance of the bystanders and a reaction of the leaders of the people.

Finally, one would like to know in how far Mt 21, 14-17 consists of traditional material and against what kind of background one should read this text. The quotation from the Scriptures in Mt 21, 16 is intended as a characterization of the function of the crying out of the children: ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυὶδ is a 'bath-qol'.² In its totality it is a tradition which runs parallel with Lk 19, 39-40. The doubling of the 'Hosanna'-call (Mt 21, 9 and 21, 15) is presumably from the hand of Mt himself, but that one should detect in this crying out the voice of God (Mt 21, 16) seems to be a traditional datum.

If Mt 21, 14 has been formed as an answer to 2 Kings 5, 6-8 (LXX) we get a balanced unit. In 2 Kings the blind and the lame are forbidden to enter εἰς οἶκον κυρίου, for they might have stopped David. In Mt 21, 14-17 the Son of David heals the blind and the lame, whom David himself had forbidden to enter the house of God.³ Jesus here presents himself as the Son of God appointed by God himself, and who is thus greater than David. That is the reason why the high priests and the scribes do not accept him. They see and hear, but do not understand, because the concept of the Son of God runs counter to what they are told by Mt.

We might draw a conclusion and say that the ideas were extant in the tradition that οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς (precisely in this combination!) had given a negative response to the cleansing of the temple by Jesus (Mk 11, 18); that the crying of Hosanna should be understood as a 'bath-qol' in the form of a child's voice; and finally that David had forbidden that the lame and the blind should enter the temple. Mt's own contribution was that he placed the cry ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυὶδ of the children here. Thus he created a

starting point is too general. οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε only occurs in Mt 12, 3, 5; 19, 4; 21, 16, 42; 22, 31 and of these texts only Mt 12, 5; 19, 4 and 21, 16 are peculiar to Mt.

¹ Held, Matthäus als Interpret, 235, note 4.

² See bShab 6, 8c, 56 and Chull 95b, Str-B, I, 134.

³ R. H. Lightfoot, Gospel Message of St. Mark, 117-118; Gundry, The Use of the O.T., 140.

direct connection with the entry and also presented this Son of David as the healer of the lame and the blind. Technically, this means that Mt himself has constructed verse 14 and combined this datum in verse 15 with the traditional data about the ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς and the παῖδας κράζοντάς. ¹

Mt 22, 23-33

The differences with Mk 12, 18-27 are small. The transformation of the οἵτινες λέγουσιν into λέγοντες (Mt 22, 23) has given rise to a whole discussion,² which need not be repeated here. The awkward attempts of Mt to unify the various scenes in Mt 22, 15-46 make it clear that in his eyes there was no difference between the Sadducees and the Pharisees: they are equally seen as adversaries of Jesus.

It is remarkable that the terminology μὴ ἔχων τέκνα (Mt 22, 24) respectively μὴ ἀφ᾽ ἑνός τέκνον (Mk 12, 19), ἄτεκνος (Lk 20, 28) continues to be used in the respective gospel stories by the writers: μὴ ἔχων σπέρμα (Mt 22, 25); οὐκ ἀφ᾽ ἑνός σπέρμα (Mk 12, 20.22); ἄτεκνος (Lk 20, 29). For the woman who is left behind Mt uses the word ἀφίτημι.

Mt 22, 33 is undoubtedly a redactional addition. The ἀκούσαντες of the ὄχλοι is contrasted with that of the Pharisees in 22, 34. The verse itself wishes to remind us of Mt 7, 28: the ending of the Sermon on the Mount.³ Similarly we also find in Mt 22, 33 another attempt to construct a 'speech unit' of Jesus. Moreover, this verse is an immediate preparation for Mt 22, 34-40 which refers to Mt 7, 12 where the essence of the Law is declared. The ὄχλοι accept Jesus and whatever he teaches them.

Mt 27, 20

Because we have shown that Mt 27, 15-26 was most probably

¹ The whole pericope Mt 21, 14-17 is one more argument in favour of the (Jewish)-Hellenistic background of the evangelist Matthew on account of the LXX background of verse 14 and the LXX-expression τὰ θαυμάσια ἃ ἐποίησεν in verse 15 (see Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 300, note 1; C. F. D. Moule, 'The Vocabulary of Miracle, Excursus 1 in *Miracles in their Philosophy and History*', *Cambridge Studies*, 237).

² Kilpatrick, *Origins*, 120; Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung*, 18-20; Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 13-16.

³ Thus, in contrast with Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 44, I do not believe that the editor has borrowed this verse from Mk 11, 18.

constructed by Mt himself and because Mt 27, 20 is the only place where the ὄχλοι are discussed so negatively, it seems that Mt 27, 20 entails special problems.¹ However, to my mind this is not so. First of all one should realize that Mt 27, 20 heavily depends on Mk 15, 11: οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνέσεισαν τὸν ὄχλον ἵνα μᾶλλον τὸν Βαραββᾶν ἀπολύσῃ αὐτοῖς. Although Mt 27, 20 may have been revised by Mt himself, the parallel in Mk 15, 11 shows that the datum has been determined in the tradition. Moreover, Mt 27, 20 says that οἱ ὄχλοι were not the chief culprits in the tragedy that is enacted. They are brought round by the high priests and the elders of the people, that is to say they are led astray and make the wrong choice. Mt 27, 20, in spite of everything, once again reveals the contrast between οἱ ὄχλοι and the Jewish leaders. Finally from Mt 27, 25 it appears that Mt does not speak of οἱ ὄχλοι at the decisive moment, but of πᾶς ὁ λαός and that he gives a concrete form to the crowds and narrows its meaning down to the Jewish people itself.

Excursus

The problems we have discussed so far cannot be fully considered unless we also discuss Mt 2, 1-12 and 22, 41-46. In these texts the title Son of David is used in such a particular manner, that one is compelled to consider them in this study.

Mt 2, 1-12

One seldom finds an answer to the question as to how Mt 2, 1-12 fits into the whole of Mt 1-2. The article by Stendahl,² which occupies a central position in the recent research on this subject, shows that both chapter 1 and chapter 2 have an inner thematic coherence. Mt 1 is concentrated round personal names. Mt does not intend to tell a story about the birth, but he wishes to show that Jesus is a Davidic son. Mt 2 is dominated by geographical names. It is a controversy about the relation between Bethlehem and Nazareth. It provides an answer to the question as to how Jesus, the Messiah, could have come from the Galilean village of Nazareth. But from the exposition by Stendahl it does not

¹ For the redactional character of Mt 27, 15-26 see chapter 4, page 91, but see also page 158, where I will go further into the matter of these problems.

² K. Stendahl, *Quis et Unde? An Analysis of Mt 1-2*, in 'Judentum, Urchristentum und Kirche', Fs J. Jeremias, Berlin, 1964/2, 94-105.

become clear how the mutual connection should be seen between this 'quis' of chapter 1 and the 'unde' of chapter 2.

We find something similar in the study by Vogtle.¹ For him also Mt 1 and 2 are a closed unit 'formal und inhaltlich'. Mt 1-2 intends to prove that Jesus is the Messiah. Mt 1 does so on the basis of the providential descent and Mt 2 does the same on the basis of the providential destiny of the child. Both chapters are apologetic, but each one in its own individual manner. In Mt 1 the stress is on the contents of the Messiah concept: Jesus is the repetition of Moses and Jacob.²

Strecker³ is the only author who enters into the details of the coherence of 1, 18-2, 23. In contrast with Schmidt,⁴ who concludes from the editorial character of Mt 2, 1a that Mt 1 and Mt 2 were linked up with one another by the editor, Strecker believes that Mt 1, 18-25 and 2, 1-23 had already been made into a unit before Mt. In 1, 18-25 and 2, 1-23 similar motives are found: apparitions of angels, dreams and instructions (1, 20 and 2, 12.13.19). Only Mt 2, 1a causes a disturbance in the smooth flow of the text, for if this verse is cancelled, Mt 2, 1b (ἰδοὺ μάγοι κ.τ.λ.) links up with Mt 1, 25 without any difficulty. After the annunciation, the nativity and the namegiving of Jesus the Magi appear to render homage to the King of the Jews. This fits in not only formally, but also as far as the contents are concerned, for in 1, 20 the fact has been discussed that Joseph is a son of David.

This line of argument, however, conceals a number of data. The relation between Mt 2, 1-12 and the preceding and the following texts is much more complicated than is usually suggested. The relations between Mt 1, 18-25 and Mt 2, 1-12 restrict themselves to the conformity of Mt 1, 18a with Mt 2, 1a (τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γένεσις οὕτως ἦν—τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλέεμ). For the rest the difference is much more striking than the conformity.

¹ A Vogtle, *Die Genealogie Mt 1, 2-16 und die matthäische Kindheitsgeschichte*, BZ 8 (1964) 45-58, 239-262, 9 (1965) 32-49

² H Milton, *The Structure of the Prologue to the St Matthew's Gospel*, JBL 81 (1962) 175-181 sees in Mt 1 and Mt 2 the elaboration of a double paradox. Mt 1 deals with the paradox of the person of Jesus. His genealogy can be drawn up, but at the decisive moment he does not seem to fit into it. Mt 2 deals with the paradox of Jesus' work. As Jesus at the end of his life escaped death, so he now escapes from his persecutor who wishes to put him to death.

³ Strecker, *Weg*, 51-53

⁴ Schmidt, *Rahmen*, 309.

The character of Joseph plays the main part in Mt 1, 18-25, but in 2, 1-12 he does not appear at all, while on the other hand Herod and the Magi do not play any part in 1, 18-25. This is also true as far as the wording is concerned. In 1, 18-25 the text speaks of Mary as 'the wife of Joseph', but in 2, 1-12 she is called 'the mother of the child'. Thus one should not speak of an apparition of angels in 2, 12 either. The subject is a dream containing a divine message, while in 1, 20 the angel of the Lord is presented as speaking. Also from a literary point of view the atmosphere differs in the two narratives. While Mt 1, 18-25 is characterized by the scheme of an order and the execution of it, Mt 2, 1-12 is much more a narrative about events, in which an abundance of aorist participles connects one fact with the other.

This lack of coordination between one fact and the other is the more striking if Mt 1, 18-25 is compared with Mt 2, 13-15.19-21 and Mt 2, 1-12 with Mt 2, 16-18. Here the points of resemblance lie nearer the surface. In Mt 2, 13-15.19-21 Joseph plays the leading part as he did in Mt 1, 18-25. The structure of the narratives is also identical: an angel of the Lord appears in a dream, he is the bearer of a message and this order is carried out. The resemblance often extends as far as the words themselves. And even if the formulation shows any differences, this is part of the datum in the contents that is demanded by the narrative itself: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν (1, 25) — καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον (2, 14) and καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς γῆν Ἰσραὴλ (2, 21). *Ceteris paribus* the same could be said about the relation between Mt 2, 1-12 and 2, 16-18. Mt 2, 16 in its entirety has been borrowed from Mt 2, 7-8.¹

Traditionally Mt 1, 18-25 is linked up with Mt 2, 13-15.19-21 and Mt 2, 1-12 is connected with 2, 16-18. (22-23). On the other hand, however, Mt 2, 13-23 cannot be understood without Mt 2, 1-12 because of the character of Herod, who on account of the attitude he takes makes it technically possible for the story to embody a journey to Egypt and a return journey to Israel. Added to this is the fact that the stories in Mt 2, 13-23 show structures that have been brought into tune with one another. The scriptural quotation is always placed at the end of the narrative, while in Mt 1, 18-2, 12 the quotation from the Scriptures has been built into the narrative itself.

¹ Perhaps Mt 2, 22-23 may also be brought into connection with Mt 2, 12.

From all these data it may be gathered that Mt 2, 13-23 depends on Mt 2, 1-12 logically, literarily and chronologically, and that it only can be explained as being correlative to Mt 2, 1-12 on the assumption that Mt 1, 18-25 was linked up with Mt 2, 1-12. This means that Mt 1, 18-2, 23 is a literary unit. Chapter 1 has not been linked up with chapter 2 by Mt, for chapter 2 cannot be understood unless it is seen as connected with the preceding chapter. Mt 2, 1a is not an editorial linking sentence, but an editorial stress on the data that have been borrowed from the traditional narrative.

That Mt 2, 1a lends a stress which does not fully correspond with the following story, may be gathered from the fact that it cannot be used as an anticipating title-verse. The structure of Mt 2, 1-12 can no longer be traced.¹ The best results may be gotten, if Mt 2, 2 is taken as the starting-point. There three data are mentioned which will be elaborated further on in the narrative: *ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς; εἶδομεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα* and *ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ*. As to the place where the new-born king can be found, something is said in Mt 2, 3-6; as to the star, we find something in 2, 7-10 and the adoration is dealt with in 2, 11-12. However, syntactical objections may also be raised against this division. Mt 2, 3-6 and 2, 7-10 may run parallel, but no parallel structure can be found for 2, 11-12, for Mt 2, 11 is not the beginning of the sentence, but 2, 10. However, the third passage cannot have 2, 10 as its opening, because this verse belongs to what preceded on account of its contents.

One gets the impression that such a number of different traditions have so strongly intertwined in Mt 2, 1-12 that it has become extremely difficult to disentangle them. The real difficulty is found in the fact that the characters in this passage behave quite differently from what one might expect. The king who feels threatened by the new-born baby, really should not know where he can find it, while the Magi who have come to adore the baby on account of his star, should have been in a position to know the place of the birth with certainty. Now it is the king who knows the place of birth and

¹ Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 19 tries to discover six small scenes: v. 1-2 3-6. 7-8 9-10 11 12. However, arguments to prove this division are drawn from the contents only. He does not reckon at all with the possibility of a structure which appears from the fact that the various sentences differ at length and that he has a new scene begin in the middle of a sentence.

the Magi know the time of the birth, while in a pure legend things should have been the other way round.

It is therefore impossible to find a good parallel to this story. We are continually compelled to collect the data from various and different places.¹ Even if the Moses tradition is taken in its totality,² several things are left unexplained; the place of the high priests and the scribes of the people, the significance of the star and how should the attitude taken by the Magi be understood. This applies with greater force if one restricts oneself to an enumeration of the disparate data of the tradition: the star, which is brought into connection with Taanith 4, 2, 67d, Test. Levi 18, 3, Test. Judah 24, 1, CD 8, 18-21, Maasch Abraham³ and TgNum 24, 17;⁴ Bethlehem as the place where the Messiah is to be born according to TgMich 5, 2, Pirqe Eliezer 3, 2b, Echah Rabbati, j Ber 2, 5⁵ and the Pesach liturgy which must explain why Mich 5, 1-2 is linked up with Ps 72, 10-11.15 and Is 60, 6.⁶ Mt 2, 1-12 is a complicated narrative; one can indicate its sources, but it continues to hide the mystery of its origin.

All these preliminary studies show quite clearly that one cannot

¹ Against Strecker, Weg, 247.

² Strecker, Weg, 51 points out this Moses-tradition. However, this does not make it clear to my mind, how he is able to reject other theories as follows: 'Die(se) Hypothese zieht unterschiedlos Midrasch-Material und alttestamentliche Überlieferung heran' (247). There is no contrast whatsoever between midrash and OT. The character proper to the midrash is that it uses Old Testament material pell-mell. If one had found in the midrash the combination of Ex 2; Num 24, 17 Mich 5, 1 and Is 60, 6, one would have found the perfect Jewish parallel. For this Moses tradition, see especially R. Bloch, Quelques aspects de la figure de Moïse dans la tradition rabbinique, in 'Moïse, l'Homme de l'Alliance', Paris-Tournai, 1955, 93-176.

³ Str-B, I, 76-78; S. Muñoz-Iglesias, El Evangelio de la infancia en S. Mateo, in 'Sacra Pagina', II, Paris, 1959, 141-144; see the criticism on the use of these texts in P. Grelot, Le Messie dans les apocryphes de L'Ancien Testament, in 'Venue du Messie', Rech Bibl, VI, 39.

⁴ S. Bartina, Aportaciones recientes de los targumim a la interpretación neotestamentaria, Est Ecles 39 (1964) 367; R. Bloch, Midrash, DBS, V, 1279-1280; see the criticism on it in M. M. Bourke, The Literary Genus of Matthew 1-2, CBQ 22 (1960) 166-167.

⁵ S. Bartina, Aportaciones recientes de los targumim, Est Ecles 39 (1964) 368; S. Muñoz-Iglesias, El Evangelio de la infancia en S. Mateo, in 'Sacra Pagina', II, 122-133; Gundry, The Use of the OT, 91.

⁶ D. Daube, The Earliest Structure of the Gospels, NTS 5 (1958/59) 184-186; C. H. Cave, St. Matthew's Infancy Narrative, NTS 9 (1962/63) 382-390; M. M. Bourke, The Literary Genus of Matthew 1-2, CBQ 22 (1960) 160-175.

but speak very carefully about the 'Redaktionsgeschichte'. We have already pointed out that the editorial character of Mt 2, 1a refers to Mt 1, 1 and 1, 18. It indicates the local and temporal circumstances of the birth of Jesus, which according to the narrative that follows has been arranged by God. Mt wishes to see Mt 1-2 as a whole which deals with the γένεσις of Jesus.

Whether it is possible to point out still other editorial verses is a difficult matter. The same holds true for Mt 2, 6, since the scriptural quotation is not introduced by Mt in the usual way. The formulation οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ προφήτου is unique, but on the other hand the Matthean τότε in Mt 2, 7 might be an indication that Mt changed the text. However, it is evident that one cannot speak with the same certainty here as in Mt 1, 23; 2, 15.18 and 23.

If, however, Mt 2, 6 is an editorial insertion, this also has its consequences for Mt 2, 4-5. In any event, Mt 2, 5 is immediately connected with Mt 2, 6 in view of the secondary character of γῆ Ἰούδα in Mt 2, 6,¹ which corresponds to Βηθλέεμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας in Mt 2, 1 and 2, 5. However, also for Mt 2, 4 several different references can be enumerated. The ποῦ ὁ Χριστὸς γεννᾶται is linked up with Mt 1, 1 (γένεσις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ); 1, 16 (ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός); 1, 18 (τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γένεσις οὕτως ἦν) and 2, 1 (τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος). They all are editorial verses and this fact necessarily has its consequences when it comes to judging Mt 2, 4. Add to this the use of the verb συνάγω to indicate a meeting of the Jewish leaders, which is typical for Mt (Mt 2, 4; 22, 34.41; 26, 3.57; 27, 17.62; 28, 12 compared with Mk 7, 1 and Lk 22, 66). The combination οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς (τοῦ λαοῦ) is certainly traditional (Mk 10, 33; 11, 18; 14, 1; 15, 31), but it is not at all out of the question that Mt has borrowed it from Mt 20, 18 (see also Mt 21, 15). From all this it can be gathered that Mt has understood an original adoration-narrative as a Messianic birth-narrative. Jesus is the Christ because he has been born in Bethlehem.

Knowing this we may also be able to pass judgment on an often heard interpretation. Mt 2, 1-12 is supposed to foreshadow the age and situation in which Mt himself lived. The Magi, who do not know where they have to look for Jesus and yet come to adore him in spite of their ignorance, are said to be an image

¹ Gundry, *The Use of the O.T.*, 91.

of the pagans who seek admittance to the ecclesia. The high priests and the scribes in that interpretation stand for Israel, which in spite of its knowledge of the Scriptures have rejected Jesus as the Messiah.¹ It may be true that the traditional narrative at one time contained this tendency, but in the edition by Mt it is not the ecclesiology which is in the foreground, but the Christology. The passage deals with the Messianic mission of Jesus. He is the Christ, in spite of the fact that he is called *ναζωραῖος*, for he has been born in Bethlehem, the place predicted in the prophecies.

Mt 22, 41-46

From recent publications I know of three suggestions which place Mt 22, 41-46 in the larger framework of the use of the title *υἱὸς Δαυίδ*; J. M. Gibbs² sees five points in which the intention of Mt could be summarized: 1) Jesus was the Messianic Son of David in the flesh (1, 1-16.20; 13, 55); 2) Jesus' Messianic mission was so obvious in what he said and did, that even the pagans and the blind could recognize it (2, 1-12; 15, 21-28; 9, 27-31; 20, 29-34); 3) The pagans can come to Jesus by believing in him as the Jewish Messiah (2, 1-12; 15, 21-28), 4) The crowds of the Jews are inclined to recognize Jesus (9, 33; 12, 23; 21, 8.11) and they certainly would have recognized him if the Pharisees and the leaders of the people had not put up a direct resistance against him (9, 34; 12, 24; 21, 15-16; 27, 20-25); 5) Finally, Mt expressly dismisses the title 'Son of David' in the light of the recognition of Jesus as the Son of God (22, 41-46).

A. Suhl³ has especially involved himself in a controversy with the article by Gibbs: 1) In Mt 22, 41-46 Mt does not wish to refute that Christ is the Son of David. It is not the refutation of a false conception, but rather the revelation of the ignorance of the Pharisees about the divine origin of Jesus; 2) Mt already gave the answer to the fact that Jesus was the Son of David in Mt 1.

¹ Walker, *Heilsgeschichte*, 97, Lohmeyer, *Evangelium*, 25-26; A.-M. Denis, *L'adoration vue par S. Matthieu*, NRT 82 (1960) 32-39, A. Vogtle, *Die Genealogie Mt 1, 2-16 und die matthäische Kindheitsgeschichte*, BZ 8 (1964) 257-258; J. Racette, *L'Évangile de l'enfance selon saint Matthieu*, ScEccl 9 (1957) 77-82.

² J. M. Gibbs, *Purpose and Pattern in Matthew's Use of the Title 'Son of David'*, NTS 10 (1963/64) 446-464, in particular 464.

³ A. Suhl, *Der Davidsson im Matthäus-Evangelium*, ZNW 59 (1968) 57-81.

This Son of David is the Emmanuel, God turning towards his people; 3) The title υἱὸς Δαυίδ in the mouth of the ὄχλοι (12, 23; 21, 9) only documents their lack of understanding. In this process the Pharisees and the leaders of the people function as the ones who have rejected Jesus right from the beginning. This rejection is connected with the spiritual blindness of the adversaries and this blindness has to do with the fact that Jesus is the Son of David; 4) The faithful followers of Jesus, however, know that Jesus has received the title of Son of David as his mission. By addressing him as the Son of David, they know how to persuade him to come to their help (9, 27; 15, 22; 20, 30. 31); 5) The disciple of Jesus, however, never address Jesus as Son of David. They call him κύριος, υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ (14, 33; 16, 16). Jesus is the Son of David when he is dealing with other people.

B. van Iersel¹ summarizes the results of his study as follows: 1) The PsSal and the rabbinic literature make it certain that the title of Son of David was used in Pharisaic circles; 2) In the Synoptics this title is used in one story only. That Jesus is so addressed can be seen as a reminiscence of a historical fact. Mt, however, has extended the use of the title enormously; 3) Jesus himself denied that the Messiah was the Son of David, but this does not at all imply that he also denied the fact that he was descended from David; 4) In the primitive community and in Paul only the term ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ is known. Mt 1 links up with this terminology. The υἱὸς Δαυίδ of Mt 1, 1 refers to his descent only; 5) In five places the expression ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ is found connected with the indication of Jesus as the Son of God: Rom 1, 3-4; Lk 1, 26-39; Acts 13, 16-41 (and dependent on Rom in Ign ad Eph 20, 2; ad Smyrn 1, 1.); 6) In Mt 22, 41-46 a polemic is found against the title υἱὸς Δαυίδ on the basis of the title of υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ; 7) In Barn the title υἱὸς Δαυίδ is rejected in favour of the title υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. The title 'Son of David' therefore has to be given a place in the life of Jesus. However, the absence of the title in important places and the presence of a text like Mt 22, 41-46 show that people had difficulties with this title. These objections proceed from the Pharisaic interpretation of this title. Because the title υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ took an important place in the primitive church,

¹ B. van Iersel, *Fils de David et Fils de Dieu*, *Rech Bibl*, VI, 113-132. The summary is found on page 128-129.

the title υἱὸς Δαυὶδ disappeared: at least in part, for part of the contents was preserved in the expression ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ, which is so typical of the primitive church and so completely unknown in the age when Jesus himself lived.

If we now have a look at the text of Mt 22, 41-46 itself, it appears that a number of questions can be quickly settled. Thus 22, 41 and 22, 46 are most certainly the outcome of the editorial work of Mt himself. As far as Mt 22, 41 is concerned, the use of the term συναγω can be pointed out; there is the idea that the Pharisees, who have been discussed time and again in the preceding texts (Mt 21, 23-22, 40) are spoken to here and Jesus now starts to ask questions himself after having been questioned by them three times. Mt 22, 41 connects the pericope with what precedes and is therefore editorial. The same can be said of Mt 22, 46 for similar reasons. This verse indicates that the pericope 22, 15-46 has come to its end. Now Jesus himself begins to ask questions and nobody dares to question any further. Mt has (partly) borrowed the sentence from Mk 12, 34, but by adding ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας he has transformed Mt 21, 23-22, 46 into one whole. The beginning of 22, 46 moreover expresses the greatness of Jesus in a very particular way: and this is a concept which is very dear to Mt himself.

It is also clear that Mt changed very much of the formulation of 22, 41-46. This is especially true in the case of the construction in 22, 42-43 and 45. What is presented in Mk 12, 35 as a question put by Jesus, becomes now in Mt a direct answer by the Pharisees themselves: the Christ is the Son of David. The influence of Mt further also appears from the use of the formulation τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ and οὖν; from the resemblance between 22, 43 πῶς οὖν Δαυὶδ . . . καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον and 22, 45: εἰ οὖν Δαυὶδ καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον and from the borrowing of πῶς of 22, 43 in 22, 45.

From all this a few things have become clear. Mt cannot be said to have created an opposition between υἱὸς Δαυὶδ and υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. υἱὸς Δαυὶδ and κύριος Δαυὶδ stand next to one another. The question of Jesus in Mt 22, 45 suggests that Jesus is the Lord of David according to the Scriptures.¹ However, the distinction made by van Iersel between the title υἱὸς Δαυὶδ and the expression ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ brings a great clarity, I think. It means in

¹ For these problems see J. Fitzmyer, *De Zoon van David-traditie en Mt 22, 41-46 en parallelplaatsen*, Conc 2 (1966)/10, 74-78.

this case that Mt 22, 41-46 does not compete with Mt 1-2. Mt 22, 41-46 is connected with Mt 12, 23 and 21, 9.15. The Pharisees do not acknowledge Jesus as the Son of David because in their eyes the Son of David is the Messiah. Therefore they are unjustified in their rejection of Jesus as the Messiah.

Summary

Since, as we have already seen, Mt 21, 46 is traditional, we have thus reached the end in the discussion of all the texts which confront οἱ ὄχλοι and the Jewish leaders. The typical Matthean characteristics have clearly come to the foreground. The ὄχλοι, in contrast with the Jewish leaders, react very positively in the appearance of Jesus. If one reads Mt 9, 33; 12, 23, 21, 9. (15) one after the other, one might even say that there is a certain climax: the ὄχλοι profess that Jesus is the Son of David. From Mt 7, 28-29 and Mt 22, 33 the positive approval of the ὄχλοι can be seen to be in sharp contrast with the way they react to the doctrine of the Jewish leaders.

However, in spite of all these data the interpretation seems to be very difficult. Gibbs¹ writes: 'Apart from the effect of emphasizing the number of people involved, it appears that Matthew employs οἱ ὄχλοι instead of ὁ λαός to emphasize the gulf between the masses and the Pharisees, and only when οἱ ὄχλοι fully stand at the end with the Jewish leaders in condemning Jesus (27, 20-22), are they then finally equated with ὁ λαός (27, 25) (and so aligned with the Pharisaic party)'.² Suhl raises his objections against this theory,³ which presupposes a certain development in the ὄχλοι, a development which moves from an acceptance towards a rejection. According to Suhl οἱ ὄχλοι in Mt function as a background only and as a means to describe the milieu. They themselves do not take any clear stand anywhere. The Messianic title υἱὸς Δαυὶδ in the mouths of the ὄχλοι documents their lack of understanding: 'Das unentschiedene

¹ J. Gibbs, *Purpose and Pattern in Matthew's Use of the Title 'Son of David'*, NTS 10 (1963/64) 451

² A similar theory is found in Strecker, *Weg*, 107. 'Obwohl die ὄχλοι nicht zu einem den Ausserungen des Jungerglaubens (14, 33; 16, 16) vergleichbaren Christusbekenntnis gelangen, sind sie (also) durchgehend als applaudierender Hintergrund des Wirkens Jesu gesehen — bis sie als 'das ganze Volk' in dem Kreuzigungsruf einstimmen und so gemeinsam mit den offiziellen Vertretern des Judentums für den Tod Jesu verantwortlich werden'

³ A. Suhl, *Der Davidsohn im Matthäus-Evangelium*, ZNW 59 (1968) 57-81. The quotation is found on page 81

Volk vermutet in Jesum den davidischen Messias seiner Vorstellungen und Erwartungen, bleibt damit aber noch ausserhalb der Erkenntnis der Gemeinde'.

From these opinions it becomes clear that the interpretation of the texts will be decided by first answering the question as to how Mt 27, 20 is to be interpreted and how the use of the title Son of David should be qualified. I have already spoken about Mt 27, 20. It does not seem justified to me to attribute the same redactional strength to this verse as to Mt 9, 33; 12, 23 and 21, 9.15. In these last verses it is Mt himself who speaks but what he says in Mt 27, 20 has been defined by his tradition. It is therefore not permissible to harmonize the ὅχλοι mentioned in Mt 9, 33; 12, 23; 21, 9 with the ὅχλοι of Mt 27, 20 and then continue to assume a certain development or to believe that Mt eventually condemns the ὅχλοι. A theory like that of Gibbs pays insufficient regard to the results of the 'Redaktionsgeschichte' and therefore it cannot give the final answer.

If one says that Mt rejects the title of Son of David because it lacks the depth of the titles κύριος, υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, and so on, one has to follow the theory of Suhl and qualify as negative the texts about the ὅχλοι in their totality. However, it does not appear from the positive use of the title 'Son of David' in Mt 9, 27; 15, 22; 20, 30. 31 and 21, 9.15 that the title as such is rejected by Mt. Strecker is right, to my mind, when he writes: 'Der Evangelist verwendet 'Davidssohn' durchaus als positive christologische Bezeichnung'.¹ But if one agrees with what he says and therefore dismisses the theory of Suhl, one still has to continue one's search for the answer to the problem. How is the title used? If one begins by saying that Mt 'historicizes', one can assume with Strecker that 'der Davidssohntitel an die einmalige, historische Situation der Zeit Jesu als der Zeit der Sendung an das jüdische Volk gebunden ist'. The ὅχλοι then have a place within the same framework. On account of their positive 'topos'-function they show an inner-Jewish controversy.

However, if it is true that Mt 9, 32-34; 12, 22-24 and 21, 9-17 depict an 'Entweder — Oder' attitude, and moreover if one finds that in Mt 15, 22 the title Son of David is used by a pagan woman, and if it is true that the invocations ἐλέησόν με/ύμας, υἱὲ Δαυίδ

¹ Strecker, Weg, 119.

(Mt 9, 27; 15, 22; 20, 30.31) and ὁσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ (Mt 21, 9.15) have been borrowed from the liturgy, then it does not seem to me to be improbable that the repeated use of the formulation οἱ ὄχλοι is an indication of how Mt saw the reception of Jesus in his own world. Mt does not wish to call up a history that is past for the purpose of writing a 'Life of Jesus' which is supposed to deal with the contrast that has existed between the Jewish people and its leaders, but on the basis of his actual experiences, Mt believes that also during Jesus' life οἱ ὄχλοι did indeed accept Jesus. Jesus' message hardly meets with any resistance in Mt's own time and therefore he can tell his readers that they have a choice: they can do as the Pharisees and the scribes did and see in Jesus a man who is possessed, or they can do as the crowds do and profess that Jesus is the Son of David and thus be healed by him of their own blindness. Mt uses οἱ ὄχλοι so often because he sees that such a great number of people have actually accepted Jesus and his message. In his opinion this fact has become an argument to persuade others to a similar acceptance.

B. οἱ ὄχλοι AND THE DISCIPLES

Mt 5, 1-2

One can read in Eichholz¹ how long the dispute has been going on over the question as to whether the Sermon on the Mount is to be seen as an instruction for the disciples or as a speech for the disciples and the crowds. Actually, from the redactional character of Mt 7, 28-29 which again speaks of οἱ ὄχλοι and ἡ διδασχά, it may be gathered that the crowds are present as the audience also in Mt 5, 1. It is more difficult to ascertain which group has been added by Mt himself. In view of the parallel in Lk 6, 20, I myself would begin by saying that Mt 5, 1a is a later addition, but whether it has been added by Mt himself, I dare not say. Since the word οἱ μαθηταί has a wider meaning in Lk than in Mt it is to my mind not out of the question that the author of Mt 5, 1 had to enlarge the group of the μαθηταί with a wider audience in order to achieve a pronouncement similar to that in Lk 6, 20. The mutual relationship between the crowds and the disciples is given implicitly. Jesus sits on the mount, the disciples have come to him, and the crowds are presumed to stand in the plain.

¹ G. Eichholz, *Auslegung der Bergpredigt*, 20-25.

Mt 12, 46-50

The difference from Mk 3, 31-35 is above all expressed by Mt 12, 49: καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητάς αὐτοῦ; Jesus only knows his disciples. However, also the part played by the ὄχλος has undergone a subtle change. In Mk they are presented as characters who speak and are therefore identified with his relatives, but in Mt there is a greater distinction. A voice says that his relatives wish to speak to him. When Jesus points to his disciples and says that they are the ones who fulfill the will of his father, this means that he holds up his disciples as a model for the ὄχλοι. Thus far the picture we found in Mt 5, 1-2 is continued: the disciples find themselves around Jesus as a special group, who together with Jesus try to bring the ὄχλοι to a fulfillment of the will of the father.

Mt 13, 2.34-36

The speaking to the crowds ἐν παραβολαῖς (13, 3.10.13.34.36) which dominates Mt 13 has partly been derived from Mk. Mt also borrows from Mk the secret-theme and he has strongly elaborated this theme by altering the ἴνα of Mk 4, 12 into the ὅτι of Mt 13, 13. How this theme should be fitted into the whole of Mt's concept remains obscure to me,¹ unless the changes in Mt 13, 10.13 are to be attributed to a pre-Matthean tradition. In any case it does

¹ Strecker, Weg, 106-107 writes 'Diese ausdrückliche Vorwegnahme steht in unserm Zusammenhang isoliert. Sie befindet sich im Widerspruch zur historisierenden Darstellung, die ja gerade durch den Ruf zur Entscheidung bestimmt ist. Dass sie für die Gesamtsicht Israels in der Zeit Jesu nicht charakteristisch ist, ergibt sich aus der Tatsache, dass die ὄχλοι (bzw. ὄχλος) sonst in neutraler, nicht selten sogar in positiver Darstellung erscheinen... Wenn unsere Perikope infolge der Anlehnung an die markinische Darstellung von dieser nachosterlichen Situation beeinflusst ist, so bleibt sie im Blick auf das sonstige Auftreten der ὄχλοι in der Zeit Jesu also eine Ausnahme'.

J. Kingsbury, *The Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13*, 19 135 accepts the fact that Matthew has incorporated a double tradition into his book regarding the perspicuity of the parables of Jesus, namely in Mt 13, 10-13 and Mt 21. However, Kingsbury overlooks Mt 13, 34-36, which he completely explains in connection with Mt 13, 10-13 (see p 90). Like Strecker Kingsbury understands the expression οἱ ὄχλοι historically (p 25: 'when Matthew speaks of the crowds, he is in fact thinking of Jews'). I would not disagree with this, but in the meantime I think that Matthew approaches the Jewish ὄχλοι so positively (as in Mt 13, 34-36) since so many crowds of his own time have accepted Jesus and his message. Matthew wishes to write history, but his description of the past reveals also his own experience.

not appear from the 'Sondergut' in Mt 13, 34-35 that in Mt ἐν παραβολαῖς has a negative meaning. There is hardly any room for doubt that Mt himself following Mk 4, 33-34 constructed Mt 13, 34-35. This may be gathered from the following expressions: ταῦτα πάντα (see Mt 23, 36); λαλέω + dative (see Mt 23, 1); ὁ Ἰησοῦς; ἐν παραβολαῖς (having been borrowed from Mt 13, 10.13); οἱ ὄχλοι and the formula quotation in Mt 13, 35. The parallel between ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς and ἐρεῦξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς shows that Mt does not take ἐν παραβολαῖς to mean 'unintelligible', but that he sees the speaking in parables as a revelation of secrets which have been hidden from the beginning. Thus far he does not leave out Mk 4, 33: καθὼς ἠδύναντο ἀκούειν but he even strongly elaborates this theme. If all this is true, the contrast between οἱ ὄχλοι and μαθηταί is less great in the version of Mt than it is usually thought to be. In this text, however, we cannot reach absolute certainty about this matter.

Mt 14, 13-21. (22-23); 15, 32-39

The use of οἱ ὄχλοι in Mt 14, 15.19.22.23; 15, 36.39 has been strongly determined by the tradition, as appears from the parallel verses in Mk. The most remarkable phenomenon is the formulation in Mt 14, 19; 15, 36: καὶ ἔδωκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς τοὺς ἄρτους, οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις, καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις. It is beyond any doubt that this alteration is connected with the special position the μαθηταί have in the 'feeding-stories' of Mt.¹ The tendency to give a eucharistic interpretation to the traditional stories resulted in the fact that οἱ μαθηταί were given the function of ecclesiastical ministers in the liturgical gatherings (the order to check how many loaves of bread there are is missing and therefore the meal is celebrated with the food that has been brought by the disciples; there is no need for the disciples to divide the people into groups any longer; they only distribute the bread; there could be a connection between Mt 14, 16 οὐ χρειαν ἔχουσιν ἀπελθεῖν and Mt 15, 32 καὶ ἀπολῦσαι αὐτοὺς νήστευς οὐ θέλω as well). The consequence of all this, however, is very important, for if

¹ See B. van Iersel, Der wunderbare Speisung und das Abendmahl in der synoptischen Tradition (Mk 6, 35-44 par ; 8, 1-20 par), NT 7 (1964) 167-194, in particular 192-194, Held, Matthaus als Interpret, 171-177; A. Heising, Die Botschaft der Brotvermehrung, 72-74; Grundmann, Evangelium, 362-365 378-380

οἱ μαθηταί are the pattern after which the ecclesiastical ministers model themselves, the mentioning of the ὄχλοι might also be 'supra-historical', which means that it has been transferred back from Mt's age to that of Jesus. In any case the presentation of Mt 14, 13-21; 15, 32-39 on the relationship between Ἰησοῦς — μαθηταί — ὄχλοι completely fits Mt 5, 1. Jesus is the most important character, his disciples are directly related to him and the ὄχλοι participate by degrees in what Jesus has to offer them.

Mt 23, 1

This verse is almost certainly redactional. This may be gathered from the usage: τότε, ὁ Ἰησοῦς, λαλέω + dative (13/4/7) while λαλέω is used 26/21/31 times, οἱ ὄχλοι. Once more the crowds and the disciples are depicted as the audience of Jesus, but there are no further indications about the mutual relationship between οἱ ὄχλοι and οἱ μαθηταί.

Summary.

The texts that were discussed just now show an atmosphere quite different from that in the texts where οἱ ὄχλοι are directly confronted with the Jewish leaders. Apart from, perhaps, Mt 13, 3.10.13 they once more make it clear how positive is the stand which Mt takes towards the crowds. Still, he does indeed see a certain order. The ὄχλοι are a large group, in which the disciples occupy a chosen place. When we studied the concept of μαθητής we came to the conclusion that the followers of Jesus do not become his disciples. This is shown again in a different way. Jesus occupies a central place. The ὄχλοι listen to him, but at the same time they see his disciples standing around him. The special function of the disciples is elaborated upon in three important places (Mt 5, 1-2; Mt 14, 13-21 and 15, 32-39). When Jesus delivers his great speech, his disciples have gathered round him and when he celebrates the eucharist, they distribute the bread that they have been given by Jesus. The disciples have an intermediary function: they bring the ὄχλοι into contact with Jesus.

C. οἱ ὄχλοι AND JESUS

The nature of our study was such that it brought with it the

distinction which we used as a point of departure. But we must admit that this division is not coercive. This may at once be gathered from the fact that we have already discussed several texts, which developed the attitude of Jesus towards the ὄχλοι. In general one might say that in the notion of Mt Jesus takes a positive attitude towards the ὄχλοι. He speaks to them (Mt 5, 1; 12, 46; 13, 34.36; 23, 1), he feeds them and when they are satisfied he sends them away (14, 19.22.23; 15, 39). Mt 11, 7 (Q Lk 7, 24) and 26, 55 (the opening sentence is by Mt) concur with this picture and they present Jesus once more as the διδάσκαλος of the crowds. No mention has been made yet of Mt 9, 36, which speaks about the 'pity' Jesus takes on the crowds. This theme links up with Mk 6, 34 (= Mt 14, 14) and Mk 8, 2 (= Mt 15, 32), but in Mt 9, 36 it is used by Mt in 'Sondergut'. Jesus is the shepherd, who teaches the exhausted and scattered sheep; he preaches to them and cures them of their illnesses.

Also the attitude of the ὄχλοι towards Jesus has already been put into words several times. The ὄχλοι are amazed at his teaching (7, 28; 22, 33: ἐκπλήσσομαι), they become afraid (9, 7 φοβέομαι); they wonder (9, 33 θαυμάζω); they get beside themselves (12, 33 ἐξίστημι). Especially important is the theme that the ὄχλοι come to Jesus of their own accord: συνάγω in Mt 13, 2; προσέρχομαι in Mt 15, 30; προάγω in 21, 9 and it is expressed especially in the verb ἀκολουθεῖω: 4, 25; 8, 1; 14, 13; 19, 2; 21, 9. In a different way it is once more made clear that Jesus stands centrally in Mt's thinking. The crowds do the same as the disciples have done: they follow Jesus: see Mt 4, 20. 22; 8, 22.23; 9, 9; 19, 27.28; 26, 58. The following of Jesus is the definition of the essence of being Christian. This appears from Mt 10, 38; 16, 24; 19, 21.27: one should take one's cross, deny oneself, leave behind everything and follow Jesus. The ὄχλοι do what they have been asked to do by Jesus. Is the positive picture given by Mt of the ὄχλοι connected with his idea that the task he has Jesus give to his disciples—to admit πάντα τὰ ἔθνη into the school of Jesus—is realized step by step? Or is there perhaps no reason whatsoever why precisely Mt 4, 25 (great crowds from all over Judea and Galilee follow Jesus); 8, 1 (great crowds follow Jesus); 13, 2 (crowds gather around Jesus to hear him preach); 15, 30 (large crowds bring their sick to Jesus); and 19, 2 (large crowds follow Jesus and he heals them) speak of πολλοὶ ὄχλοι and that Mt no longer speaks of οἱ ὄχλοι when he

recounts the traditions of Lk 3, 7 (Q) (the Baptist calls the crowds a brood of vipers); 8, 42-45 (people crowd in upon Jesus from all sides); 11, 29 (Q) (Jesus speaks to the crowds of the evil in this generation); and 12, 54 (Q) (Jesus calls the crowd hypocrites who pretend to know the weather but not the meaning of the present time)?

CONCLUSION

Since this study was intended as a contribution to the process of situating the Mt gospel, the same question has to be asked over and over again in each pericope: in how far was Mt himself responsible for the present text. This question has lent a strongly analytical character to the whole work. In order to get a survey of the results of the whole it therefore seems to be necessary to sum up the conclusions in a few words and place them together. First of all we traced what Mt meant with the reproach of ὑπόκρισις. Mt clearly shows a preference for this abusive term and applies it exclusively to the Jewish leaders. From a redactional point of view Mt 23, 13-33 and 6, 1-18 (23, 5-7) especially appear to be of importance. Moreover, these texts are of a decisive influence for establishing the meaning of the word. The other texts then fall in line (such as Mt 15, 7; 22, 18) or they cannot be said to be editorial (such as Mt 7, 5; 24, 51). From the analysis of the contents of the word it appears that some four motives are made use of to 'fill' the word: the ὑποκριτής is the godless one, who despises the Law of God; he is a split personality, in whom the inner life and the outward appearance do not harmonize with each other; he is an actor, who is intent on winning fame and praise; he is a person, who allows the human forum to prevail over the divine forum. In this definition Mt must have been influenced by a profound knowledge of both LXX and Hellenistic thinking.

It is a most remarkable fact that just Mt calls the Jewish leaders ὑποκριταί. This has so often been given a historical interpretation that in the popular concept Pharisees and hypocrite have become synonymous concepts. But this is not what Mt intended. To him the use of this term was a negative, ethical appeal. The readers of the gospel were admonished not to behave as the Jewish leaders: προσέχετε μὴ ποιεῖν (6, 1), μὴ ποιεῖτε (23, 3).

However, the concept of ὑπόκρισις should not be given a greater significance than that it is actually due. In Mt it is only one of the possibilities of which he avails himself to steer clear of Judaism. The fact that Mt is the only one among the Synoptics who calls them πονηροί, is at least equally relevant. Mt has a very typical idea of the πονηρία in the world. The cosmos is divided into bad

and good people (5, 45; 22, 10); into bad and just people (13, 49). Being bad or being good precedes being a Christian. The fact that one accepts Jesus does not guarantee that one is good. This clearly appears from 22, 10-14, where we find the supposition that in the community of those who have been called a distinction will be made between the elect and those who have not been chosen. It is possible that someone is evil and still is present at the wedding feast, but one should realize that at the end of time the judgment will be final and then the decisive separation will be made.

From Mt 13, 19 and 13, 38 it follows that these *πονηροί* are intimately related to *ὁ πονηρός*. The Evil One is at the origin of the evil in the world. He is the great antagonist of the Son of Man, who sows the good seed. Thus the conception of Mt is really very simple: what is good, comes from the Son of Man and what is bad comes from the Evil One. When the wickedness of man becomes manifest, the work of the devil becomes visible.

Against this background the seriousness of the reproach that the Jewish leaders are *πονηροί* is given its proper emphasis. They are bad, because they say that Jesus is blaspheming (9, 4); or that he is possessed by the devil (12, 34); because they put Jesus to the test (16, 1; 22, 18); or because they demand a sign from Jesus (12, 38; 16, 1). We have shown that Mt did not carry this reproach of the *πονηρία* of the Jewish leaders to its fullest consequences, because for him this was not a thesis that had to be proven, but rather a supposition at the basis of his thinking. From Mt 12, 38-45 it appears that this does not mean that the threat is less serious because of it. In the judgment their wickedness will imply their condemnation and their situation will be worse than that of the man who originally had been possessed by the unclean spirit.

What makes these latter texts into something special is the fact that with them the concept of *πονηρία* is given its full meaning. The Jewish leaders are called bad because they refuse to accept Jesus in any respect: in their eyes he cannot be a healer, nor an exorcist, nor a teacher. One's attitude toward Jesus, reveals whether someone is good or bad. This does not give a decisive answer to the question who is good or bad, as may be gathered from texts such as Mt 5, 45; 13, 49 and 22, 10, but it does make clear one aspect of the matter: if one refuses to accept Jesus,

one is certainly bad in any case. How dangerous theories of this kind can be is something Mt himself has not experienced, but this does not mean that they are any less dangerous on account of it. What he actually says is that presumably there must be many bad people, but he can only concretely point out one group: the Jews, who did not wish to accept Jesus.

The damning character of this datum is elaborated especially in the $\varphi\omicron\nu\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ -motif: the Jewish leaders are the murderers of Jesus and those sent by him. In the analysis of Mt 21, 28-22, 14 and 23, 29-39 we have seen how Mt has elaborated the traditional theme of the murder of the prophets by Israel in a manner peculiar to him. First of all, he links up with the Christian interpretation of this theme, which, following the traditional Jewish terminology, imputes the killing of Jesus and those sent by him to Israel and its leaders.

The murder of Zechariah (23, 35), the downfall of Jesus (27, 20), the crucifixion of the ones that have been sent (23, 34) are not different things. They reveal that the present generation participates in the evil of the former generation. One must understand this in the right way, however. Mt sees a relation between the persecution of the Christians and the death of Jesus. He attributes both actions to the active influence of the Jews. Mt is not concerned with pointing out the Jews of all times and places as the murderers of Jesus.

However, there is something else. While the traditional concept still maintained that Israel could repent its ways, Mt thinks that the murderers have lost any rights of forgiveness (23, 33-35-36). The downfall of Jerusalem (the fire that destroyed their city and the destruction of the murderers: 22, 6-7) provides Mt with the evidence that Israel has definitively lost its rights. The place of Israel has been taken by the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\beta\omicron\nu$ (22, 10): all those that are found on the roads by the servants.

Nowhere does the non-Jewish character of Mt seem stronger than in the handling of this Jewish theme. Everyone has been invited except Israel, for Israel has been shown not to be $\delta\acute{\xi}\iota\omicron\varsigma$. Thus the contours of the anti-Israel thinking of Mt become more and more clear. Israel is a quantity and a value that has been rendered out of date. Mt has seen its downfall and he believes that he knows the underlying meaning of this downfall as well. He wishes his readers to learn from his insight: by avoiding what

the Jewish leaders have done, they will be able to avoid the condemnation undergone by Israel.

We have also pointed out the same negative apology as the most important motif for the changes that have been brought about in the passion narrative by Mt. It has been made apparent that several tendencies have helped the present narrative achieve its present form. Since we went into the matter in such detail, there is no need to repeat here what was said. Mt wished to accuse the Sanhedrin as much as he could and to clear the non-Jews as much as possible. He wishes to persuade us that the real difference between Jew and non-Jew has to be found in the confession that Jesus is the Son of God. What the Jews have refused to accept has been acknowledged by the non-Jews. This perhaps is the intention most peculiar to Mt himself. The reader of the passion narrative should conclude by acknowledging that Jesus is really a Son of God. Israel has failed to understand this and therefore Mt says: do not behave as the Jewish leaders have done.

There is no need as such to place this point of view in a Hellenistic milieu, but in studying the various texts we found time and again so great a Greek influence that one cannot but conclude that the transformation of the traditional passion narrative into the present text of Mt has to be localized in a Hellenistic milieu. If, however, this 'Sitz im Leben' may be presupposed, the abovementioned tendencies (the enlargement of the guilt of the Sanhedrin, the clearing of the guilt of the non-Jews, the importance of the profession of faith that Jesus is the Son of God) become more pronounced. Then it is easier to understand why precisely these tendencies could have exercised such a great influence.

We then proceeded to study the texts in which the Jewish leaders were confronted with the other groups in the gospel. These give us a more concrete idea of what the community in which Mt lived and worked must have been like. First of all, we analysed those texts in which the Jewish leaders are contrasted with the group of the disciples of Jesus. It appeared to be Mt's conception that these two groups are not diametrically opposed. The Jewish leaders are blind men who fail to understand, and the disciples of Jesus understand and realize that they should have no dealings with the Jewish leaders. The Jewish leaders are called ὀδῆγοὶ τυφλοί, μωροί and πλανοί (15, 14; 23, 16-22.24; 27, 62-66); one should not listen to them, for that would mean a

condemnation (15, 12-14) and what they have to teach (28, 15) are only lies. Jesus therefore teaches that one should have no dealings with their διδασχῇ (16, 12). The Jewish leaders who do not understand (17, 12; 13, 19) are the antithesis of the disciples of Jesus, but the latter are not the antithesis of the Jewish leaders. Although Mt pictures the Jewish leaders as the antitype of the 'Christian', the disciple of Jesus is not his prototype in this sense that the 'Christian' has to become a μαθητὴς Ἰησοῦ.

According to Mt οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰησοῦ are only the historical group of the δώδεκα. The Christian community is not an extension of this group, but it follows Jesus in a direct manner. He addresses them directly and they must prove themselves worthy of him. We have seen this demonstrated in concrete terms in a number of texts. The ἔλεος of Jesus has an actual meaning, for if one understands that in Jesus the Scriptures have been fulfilled when he ate with the publicans and sinners (9, 9-13) and when he permitted his disciples to eat the ears of corn on the sabbath (12, 1-8), one is not ready to condemn the innocent. Since Jesus showed mercy, the ἔλεος must be valued as the norm for mutual relationships in the Christian community. The doctrine of Jesus concerning marriage (19, 11) must be valued as a divine gift, for which one must be ἄξιος. It is an introduction into an atmosphere where one does not entertain one's own pretensions and ideas, but where there is only acceptance and understanding for which one must be chosen. This has already been given as a general pronouncement at the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount (5, 20): the δικαιοσύνη of the followers of Jesus should not be based on the Jewish halachah, but on the ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῶν of Jesus himself.

That Mt has a positive attitude towards his environment, appears clearly in those texts which deal with οἱ ὄχλοι. We have distinguished three themes. When the crowds are compared with the Jewish leaders Mt offers a choice to his readers. One can behave as the Pharisees and the scribes and think that Jesus is possessed, or one can behave as the crowds and profess that Jesus is the Son of David and thus be healed of one's blindness by him (9, 32-34; 12, 22-24; 21, 9-17). The crowds approve of Jesus' teaching and they see the difference from the doctrine of the Jewish leaders (7, 28-29; 22, 33).

In the texts which mention the ὄχλοι together with the disciples, there appears to be some kind of order. The crowds are a large

group, among which the disciples occupy a special position. Jesus is the central figure and the *ὄχλοι* listen to him, but at the same time they see how the disciples are gathered around him (5, 1-2). The disciples have a mediating function (14, 19; 15, 36); they bring the *ὄχλοι* into contact with Jesus (5, 1-2) and they are a pattern for the *ὄχλοι* (12, 46-50).

Finally, it appears in the presentation by Mt that Jesus takes a very benevolent stand towards the *ὄχλοι*, as is also the case from the side of the crowds: they do what Jesus has asked them to do. This is expressed especially by the verb *ἀκολουθέω*, which makes it clear once again that the crowds do the same as Jesus' disciples.

The concept of *οἱ ὄχλοι* in Mt has a very positive meaning and we have asked how this should be explained. Presumably in Mt's time Christ's message did not yet meet with any great resistance. Mt sees how many people have been called to accept Jesus and his doctrine. On the basis of his own actual experiences he believes that also when Jesus was still alive great crowds accepted him. This has become an argument in his eyes to summon others to a similar acceptance.

What is the meaning of these results with regard to the localisation of the Mt gospel? To my mind there is one conclusion that can clearly be drawn. Mt lived in a world in which Judaism was no longer a serious competitor. If one wishes to call the Jews who have refused to be converted hypocrites, evil people, murderers and imposters, there must be a fairly great and satisfactory distance on a historical level. This idea held by Mt can only be explained as being held by someone who, if he happened to come face to face with them, was still so absorbed in his own ideas that he had lost sight of reality. It speaks of an one-sided, negative reflexion which has no longer been influenced by a positive contribution from the adversary.

Many attempts have been made to explain the anti-Jewish character of the Mt gospel. The simplest one, it seems to me, is to start from the assumption that Mt was not a Jew. He lived in an environment where many people accepted Jesus as someone sent by God and in a world which reacted positively to what the gospel admonished them to do. One knew of the opposition by the Jews, but the downfall of Jerusalem was the last and decisive proof which caused them to make the decisive choice. Mt admonishes his readers to accept Jesus as so many other people have done,

and not to reject him as the Jewish leaders did. The anti-Jewish controversy of the Mt gospel is a result of the Christian propaganda which sees in its own success the confirmation of the fact that the opposing party was wrong.

If we may presume that Kilpatrick is correct in his thesis that the Mt gospel gives evidence of having originated in an urban culture, is it then possible to geographically locate the gospel, given all these data? One cannot, of course, speak with absolute certainty, but it must in any case have been a milieu that can explain both the strong Jewish as well as the anti-Jewish character of the Mt gospel. Would it not then be permissible to think of Alexandria, which we know was both a centre of Jewish culture and a bulwark of anti-Judaism in the first century A.D.? To elucidate this, I need only refer the reader to Philo's journey to Caligula (*Leg. ad Gaium*), the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians (*CPI*, nr 153), the pogrom under Tiberius Alexander (*Jos. Bell. Iud.* II, 18, 7-8; & 487-495) and the anti-Jewish propaganda document of Apion (*Jos., C. Ap.*). It is a question for me whether we are far away from the truth when we assume that the Mt gospel, after having first been formed and handed down within an Alexandrian Jewish community, went over at a certain moment to a pagan-Christian community that was strongly anti-Jewish because of its life-situation. The evangelist Matthew was their spokesman and thanks to his activity we have entry to that remarkable community that, broad-minded though it was, could give Israel no place in its thinking.

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Gutersloh, 1967/2.

INDEX OF PASSAGES (SELECTED)

<i>Mt</i>		<i>Mt</i>		<i>Mt</i>	
2, 1-12	149	13, 38	44	22, 23-33	148
3, 7	29	13, 49	40	22, 34	2, 50
5, 1-2	160	13, 52	131	22, 41-46	155
5, 20	126	14, 13-21 (22-23)	162	23, 1	163
5, 45	38	15, 1-9	14	23, 2-3	134
6, 1-6, 16-18	8	15, 10-20	99	23, 5-7	17
7, 5	13	15, 32-39	162	23, 8-12	137
7, 11	39	16, 1-4	34	23, 13-33	18
7, 28-29	142	16, 5-12	108	23, 16-22, 24	154
8, 18-22	128	16, 21	74	23, 29-33	63
9, 1-8	143	17, 10-23	110	23, 34-36	65, 140
9, 4	28	19, 3-12	117	23, 37-39	69
9, 9-13	113	20, 17-19	75	24, 51	24
9, 14-17	116	21, 9-17	145	26, 1-5	76
9, 32-34	143	21, 23	49	26, 14-16	84
12, 1-8	114	21, 28-22, 14	47	26, 47	77
12, 9-14	73	21, 28-32	52	26, 57-68	77
12, 22-24	144	21, 28	50	27, 1-2	83
12, 33-35	28	21, 33-46	54	27, 3-10	84
12, 38-42	30	21, 33	50	27, 11-14	89
12, 43-45	32	22, 1-14	58	27, 15-26	91
12, 46-50	161	22, 1	51	27, 20	148
13, 2	161	22, 10	41	27, 38-44	95
13, 19	42	22, 15	49	27, 62-66	106
13, 34-36	161	22, 18	17, 37	28, 11-15	106

INDEX OF AUTHORS

- Abrahams I., 25
 Albertz M., 9
 Allen W., 12, 19, 59, 67, 122, 129,
 133, 134, 135, 142
 Bacher W., 101, 113, 121
 Baltensweiler H., 121
 Barth G., 8, 43, 74, 79, 80, 83, 103,
 109, 110, 136
 Bartina S., 153
 Bauer W., 91, 124, 129
 Baumbach G., 27, 28, 30, 34, 38, 39,
 43, 44, 113, 145
 Behm J., 133
 Beilner W., 14, 19, 52, 134
 Benoit P., 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 96
 Best E., 17, 90
 Bi(c)kermann E., 81, 91, 134
 Bieneck L., 96
 Bihler J., 82
 Black M., 57
 Blackman P., 125
 Blank S., 69
 Blass-Debrunner 10, 57, 75, 88, 135
 Bligh J., 93
 Blinzler J., 124
 Bloch R., 12, 153
 Bonsirven J., 121
 Bornkamm G., 44, 52, 100, 113, 122,
 130, 131
 Borsch F., 31
 Bourke M., 153
 Braumann G., 89
 Braun H., 119
 Bultmann R., 9, 11, 20, 28, 29, 50,
 52, 59, 64, 67, 68, 104, 105, 110,
 111, 112, 114, 115, 122, 127, 128,
 139
 Burkill T. A., 90
 Campenhausen H. von, 108
 Cave C. H., 153
 Cerfaux L., 54
 Colpe C., 32
 Conzelmann H., 80
 Dahl N., 78, 91
 Dalman G., 133, 138, 139
 Daube D., 9, 114, 119, 153
 Davies W. D., 114
 Degenhardt D.-J., 112
 Delling G., 118, 122
 Denis A.-M., 155
 Derrett J., 54
 Dibelius M., 67, 80, 83
 Dillon R., 58, 60, 61
 Dodd C., 54, 59, 105, 134
 Dupont J., 8, 9, 10, 13, 28, 39, 43,
 52, 111, 118, 123, 124, 126, 127,
 143
 Durand A., 87
 Eichholz G., 9, 14, 160
 Fascher E., 93
 Fenton J., 50
 Feuillet A., 80
 Fiebig P., 28, 62
 Finkel A., 18
 Finkelstein L., 25
 Fitzmyer J., 94, 157
 Foerster W., 30, 144
 Ford J. M., 19
 Formesyn R., 74
 Fridrichsen A., 33
 Friedrich G., 82
 Gale H. M., 35
 George A., 9, 10, 126
 Gerhardsson B., 9, 141
 Gibbs J. M., 94, 145, 155, 158
 Ginsburger M., 134, 135
 Glasson T. F., 64
 Glombitza O., 31
 Gnllka J., 35, 59, 124
 Grass H., 108
 Grässer E., 41, 117
 Grelot P., 153
 Grintz J. M., 134
 Grossouw W. K., 122
 Grundmann W., 9, 12, 13, 20, 34, 44,
 129, 132, 137, 143, 145, 162
 Gundry R. H., 81, 87, 88, 89, 92, 147,
 153, 154
 Gutbrod W., 22

- Hadas M., 115
 Haenchen E., 8, 16, 18, 19, 20, 64, 65, 67, 68, 80, 104, 135, 136, 137, 139, 145
 Hahn F., 18, 90, 129, 130, 134, 141
 Hamman A., 39
 Hansen G., 138
 Harder G., 39, 44, 126, 127
 Hare D., 64, 65, 66, 67
 Hasler V., 60, 61
 Hauck F., 30, 122
 Heising A., 162
 Held H., 16, 100, 113, 129, 130, 143, 144, 146, 162
 Hengel M., 54, 56
 Hermaniuk M., 62
 Higgins A., 31, 74, 76
 Hoh J., 68, 131, 133
 Holtzmann H., 44, 96, 142
 Howton J., 31, 32
 Hummel R., *passim* esp., 1, 29, 52, 64, 66, 68, 78, 82, 90, 97, 101, 102, 113, 129, 131, 137, 144-148
 Hunter A. M., 54

 Iersel B. van, 54, 55, 56, 79, 80, 96, 113, 114, 131, 156, 162
 Isaksson A., 121, 122, 123

 Jaubert A., 17
 Jeremias J., *passim* esp., 13, 14, 33, 39, 40, 52, 127, 132
 Jülicher A., 28, 50, 52, 54, 56, 59

 Kahle P., 12, 137
 Kilpatrick G., 1, 18, 19, 20, 35, 52, 66, 84, 105, 106, 126, 132, 137, 148, 172
 Kingsbury J., 43, 44, 161
 Klostermann E., 9, 11, 12, 13, 44, 104, 134
 Klijn A., 1
 Knox W., 20, 64, 90, 105, 106
 Kremer J., 108
 Krentz E., 75
 Kruyf T. de, 96
 Kümmel W. G., 56
 Kürzinger J., 127

 Lagrange M.-J., 64, 88, 129, 132, 134, 135
 Le Déaut R., 32, 68

 Légasse S., 66, 67, 68, 131, 133, 137, 141
 Léon-Dufour X., 36, 75, 94
 Liddell-Scott, 23
 Lightfoot R. H., 147
 Linnemann E., 59, 61
 Linton O., 31, 32
 Lohmeyer E., 44, 50, 54, 57, 77, 79, 86, 88, 102, 113, 117, 148, 152, 155
 Lohse E., 79, 114
 Loisy A., 117, 122
 Loos H., *van der*, 131
 Lyonnet S., 32

 Manson T. W., 9, 18, 19, 64, 122, 132, 143, 145
 Martinez E., 112
 Marxsen W., 108
 McNamara N., 12, 32, 69
 McNeile A., 20, 21, 67, 68, 78, 82, 87, 105, 122, 134, 139
 Meye R. P., 112
 Meyer R., 1, 145
 Milton H., 150
 Moore G., 25
 Moule C., 35, 131, 148
 Muñoz-Iglesias S., 153
 Mussner F., 56, 58

 Nagel W., 9, 10
 Nepper-Christensen P., 85

 Ott W., 9, 39

 Pedersen S., 56
 Perels O., 73, 131, 143
 Pesch R., 87, 112, 114
 Pesch W., 18, 52
 Preisker H., 13

 Quesnel Q., 124

 Racette J., 155
 Rengstorff K., 35, 61, 112, 133
 Renov I., 134
 Ringeling H., 118
 Roth C., 146
 Rothfuchs W., 86
 Ruckstuhl E., 81

 Saggin L., 139
 Sandmel S., 141
 Schillebeeckx E., 118

- Schlatter A., 122
 Schmid J., 18, 19, 20, 23, 44, 109,
 111, 120, 123, 143
 Schmidt K., 74, 81, 110, 150
 Schnackenburg R., 118
 Schneider H., 101
 Schneider J., 57
 Schoeps H. J., 56, 68
 Schreiber J., 96
 Schulz S., 122
 Schweizer E., 9, 76
 Seesemann H., 133
 Seidelin P., 31, 32
 Spicq C., 137, 138, 139
 Steck O., 46, 47, 56, 59, 63, 64, 65,
 68, 69
 Stempvoort P. van, 96
 Stendahl K., 32, 67, 69, 86, 87, 96,
 146, 149
 Strack-Billerbeck, 12, 24, 38, 57, 62,
 79, 113, 114, 125, 133, 135, 137,
 139, 147, 153
 Strecker G., *passim esp.*, 1, 10, 20,
 32, 34, 36, 40, 53, 58, 75, 78, 79,
 84, 86, 87, 97, 103, 117, 119, 120,
 133, 150, 158, 161
 Strobel A., 31
 Suhl A., 94, 155, 158
 Sutcliffe E., 87
 Swaeles R., 59, 63
 Sweet J., 35
 Szabó A., 67
 Taylor V., 76, 122
 Teeple H., 76
 Tödt H., 31, 32, 70, 74, 76, 110, 111,
 131
 Townsend J., 138
 Trilling W., 20, 21, 22, 44, 50, 54, 58,
 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 91, 92, 93, 110,
 111, 133
 Treu U., 64
 Vanhoye A., 77, 83, 89, 95, 107
 Vielhauer P., 31, 74, 76
 Vögtle A., 31, 32, 44, 150, 155
 Walker R., *passim esp.*, 1, 29, 67, 68,
 86, 90, 91, 102, 106, 122, 129, 132,
 136, 144, 145, 146, 148
 Weiss B., 68, 88, 135
 Weiss K., 1
 Wernberg-Møller P., 22
 Wilckens U., 13, 19, 20, 22, 24
 Windisch H., 9, 12
 Winter P., 1, 56, 81
 Wülfing von Martitz P., 138
 Zerwick M., 129, 134
 Zimmermann H., 113, 120, 129

STELLINGEN

I

De uitspraak „wie zijn vrouw wegzendt en een ander huwt, maakt zich tegenover haar schuldig aan echtbreuk” (Mk 10, 11) is naar alle waarschijnlijkheid van Jezus zelf afkomstig. Dit wil echter niet zeggen, dat Jezus de onontbindbaarheid van het huwelijk voorhoudt (zie B. van Iersel, Heeft Jezus in Marcus 10, 2-10 de onontbindbaarheid van het huwelijk uitgesproken?, *Annalen van het Thijmgenootschap* 58 (1969) 11-22).

II

Het „doxa”-begrip in het Johannesevangelie wordt bepaald door een samengaan van het bijbel-christelijke „kabôd”-idee en de profaan-griekse opvatting van „doxa” als mening en reputatie (zie W. Grossouw, *La glorification du Christ dans le quatrième évangile*, *Rech. Bibl.*, III, Brugge, 1958, 131-145).

III

Het christelijke vrijheidsbegrip is in het christendom geïntroduceerd door Paulus, die zijn gedachten daarover duidelijk maakt in zijn discussies met het farizees nomisme en het hellenistisch-gnostisch antinomisme. Gezien het belang, dat Paulus hecht aan dit vrijheidsbegrip, pleegt een kerk, die dit niet operationeel weet te maken, verraad aan haar eigen opdracht (zie W. Grossouw, *De vrijheid van de christen volgens Paulus*, *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 9 (1969) 269-283).

IV

Logion 50 van het Thomasevangelie:

„Jezus sprak: Als men u zegt: waar komt gij vandaan?, zegt hun dan: wij zijn uit het licht gekomen, de plaats waar het licht uit zichzelf is ontstaan. Het stond en het openbaarde zich in hun beeld.

Als men u zegt: wie bent u?, zegt dan: wij zijn zijn zonen en wij zijn de uitverkorenen van de levende vader.

Als men u vraagt: wat is het teken van uw vader?, zegt dan: het is beweging en rust.”,

moet geïnterpreteerd worden als een vraaggesprek tussen de archonten en de mens, die tot de gnosis van zijn ware zelf gekomen is, waarin Jezus het wachtwoord geeft om tot de eigenlijke plaats te komen (zie E. J. M. Cornélis, *Quelques éléments pour une comparaison entre l'Évangile de Thomas et la notice d'Hippolyte sur les Naasènes*, *Vigiliae Christianae* 15 (1961) 83-104).

V

De archeologische vondsten in En-Gedi maken duidelijk, dat in de eerste eeuw na Chr. in Judea zowel aramees, mishna-hebreeuws als grieks gesproken werd (zie A. Díez Macho, *La lengua hablada por Jesu Cristo*, *Oriens Antiquus* 2 (1963) 95-132). De localisering van een bijbelse traditie buiten Palestina kan zich daarom niet beperken tot een louter linguïstische argumentatie.

VI

De bestudering van de palestijnse targums (fragmententargum, targum uit de geniza van Kairo en Neofiti) geeft een directere toegang tot de joodse denkwereld van de eerste eeuw dan de bestudering van de midrashim, mishnayot en de targums Onqelos en Jonathan (zie R. Le Déaut, *Introduction à la littérature targumique*, Rome, 1966).

VII

De oorsprong van het Matteus evangelie moet gezocht worden in een milieu dat zowel het joodse als het anti-joodse karakter er van verklaart. Als we dit geografisch willen localiseren, zou men kunnen denken aan Alexandrië, dat als geen andere stad in de eerste eeuw na Chr. tegelijkertijd een centrum was van joodse cultuur en een bolwerk van anti-judaïsme.

VIII

Matteus maakt in Mt 16, 13-20 redactioneel een tegenstelling tussen de mensen, die hun gedachten hebben over de Mensenzoon, en de hemelse Vader, die aan Petrus openbaart, dat deze Mensenzoon de Zoon van God is. Als zodanig is daarom deze tekst, op het niveau van de redactie, een eerste aanzet tot de patristieke speculaties over de verhouding Mensenzoon-Godszoon.

IX

De gewoonte om bij elk fecst één gevangene vrij te laten, waarvan sprake is in het verhaal over Barabbas en Jezus, sluit aan bij het door de romeinen in het aziatische deel van hun rijk toegestane recht van de „anaboësis”.

X

De uitleg van de Schrift zou er grote baat bij hebben, wanneer haar beoefenaars nauwer voeling hielden met de resultaten en verworven inzichten van de algemene litteratuurwetenschap.

XI

Gezien Lk 22, 27: „Ik ben onder u als degene die dient”, moet het spreken over de kerk aan de basis en de kerk aan de top als onevangelisch afgewezen worden. Het nog steeds overheersende hiërarchische en elitaire denken binnen de katholieke kerk is èen van de grootste belemmeringen voor haar geloofwaardigheid.

XII

Zolang de overheid en het bedrijf bij de tewerkstelling van de buitenlandse werknemers aan de huisvesting van deze buitenlanders geen absolute prioriteit geven, en wel zodanig, dat zij binnen een redelijke tijd ($\frac{1}{2}$ -1 jaar) hun familieleden kunnen laten overkomen, zal de Stichting Bijstand Buitenlandse Werknemers geen ander werk verrichten dan het zinloze bestrijden van de onlust-symptomen.

XIII

De kennis en/of de bewustwording van de marginale mogelijkheden, die de industrie en de economie toestaan aan de verdere democratisering van onze maatschappij, heeft de studentenbeweging in het slop gebracht, want kennis is geen macht.

XIV

Ondanks de goede bedoelingen van het bestuur en de leden fungeert de Universiteitsraad te Nijmegen feitelijk niet anders dan als een applaudiserend orgaan voor elders genomen beslissingen.

